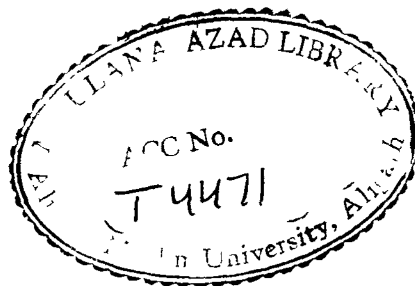




RELATIONS OF AMBER (JAIPUR) STATE WITH MUGHAL COURT, 1694-1744

ABSTRACT

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

HISTORY

by

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Under the Supervision of

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is an attempt to focus the diverse roles the Raja of Amber had in relation to the Mughal Court - the duties expected of him, the manner in which he carried these out, the balance he maintained being simultaneous incumbent of some very significant offices, whether or not he operated for his interests while representing the Mughal Court are some of the aspects covered.

The topic suits more to the period mentioned in the sense that this is when the relations of the Raja with the Mughal Court became more dense -- Jai Singh Sawai is known for his statesmanship as also his innovative genius, the time was most suited for the application of both. From the rich nature of documents the above and the related aspects are concentrated upon.

With his submission at the Mughal Court the Amber Raja became *mansabdar* and his ancestral domain was treated as his *watan*. His obligations in this role towards the Mughal Court and the position he enjoyed is studied in the first chapter.

The second chapter relates to the extension of *watan* area wherein the *ijara* system and other revenue assignments

played a vital role to overpower the petty jagirdars and bhomias.

The third chapter provides a comparison of the abovesaid condition and the non-watan area. The hypothesis being that the position of Raja in the latter areas would be vulnerable as compared to his watan. His role in the capacity of an ordinary jagirdar, where he had to function in coordination with the shirkat jagirdars and the Emperor's representatives officiating at the khalisa is studied in the selected sample parganas.

The fourth chapter encompasses the study of such important officials as the wakil and the diwan who acted as the communication channel between the Raja the Imperial Court. Their role, correspondence with the Raja, status, duties, and remuneration are discussed in detail.

The subsequent chapter relates to the relation that the Raja had with the Emperor. The manner and instances where paramountcy was exercised by the Emperor, as also where the latter proved accommodating and allowed concessions to the Raja.

The sixth chapter is a study of the relations the Raja had with the nobles of the adjoining areas. How and when it effected the Raja's attitude and the outcome of such

confrontation whenever it occurred. The relations of the Raja with the other Rajputs are also taken into consideration, how the Raja came to exercise vital importance is also focussed upon. The change and developments in the relations viz-a-viz the former nobles is also summarily treated.

The next chapter relates to one of the most essential obligation of the Raja - the maintenance of army for imperial service. The expected strength as indicated by the sawar rank the maintenance of descriptive rolls of the jamiatdars and their subordinates, the remuneration per sawar, details of the remaining contingent, their salary and weaponry are incorporated.

The eight chapter concerns the maintenance of karkhanas at Amber for imperial and domestic usage. The organisation, administration, manufacture, storage and catering are brought out at length, these in turn reflect the margin of autonomy allowed to such an establishment.

The nature of decline of the Mughal Empire and its long ranging effects are attempted to be studied in the ninth chapter to observe the extent of its effects on the Amber state.

Finally the last chapter shows the impact of Mughal administration on the Amber state. Amber being the watan area

had to conform where the maintenance of uniformity in administration was concerned. The data shows the extent to which the impact is reflected in the local administration run by the sub-assignees and sub-lessees of the Raja.

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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis, "Relations of Amber (Jaipur) State with the Mughal Court, 1694-1744" is the original research work of the candidate and is suitable for the award of Ph.D. degree.

(S.P. Gupta)
Supervisor

CONTENTS

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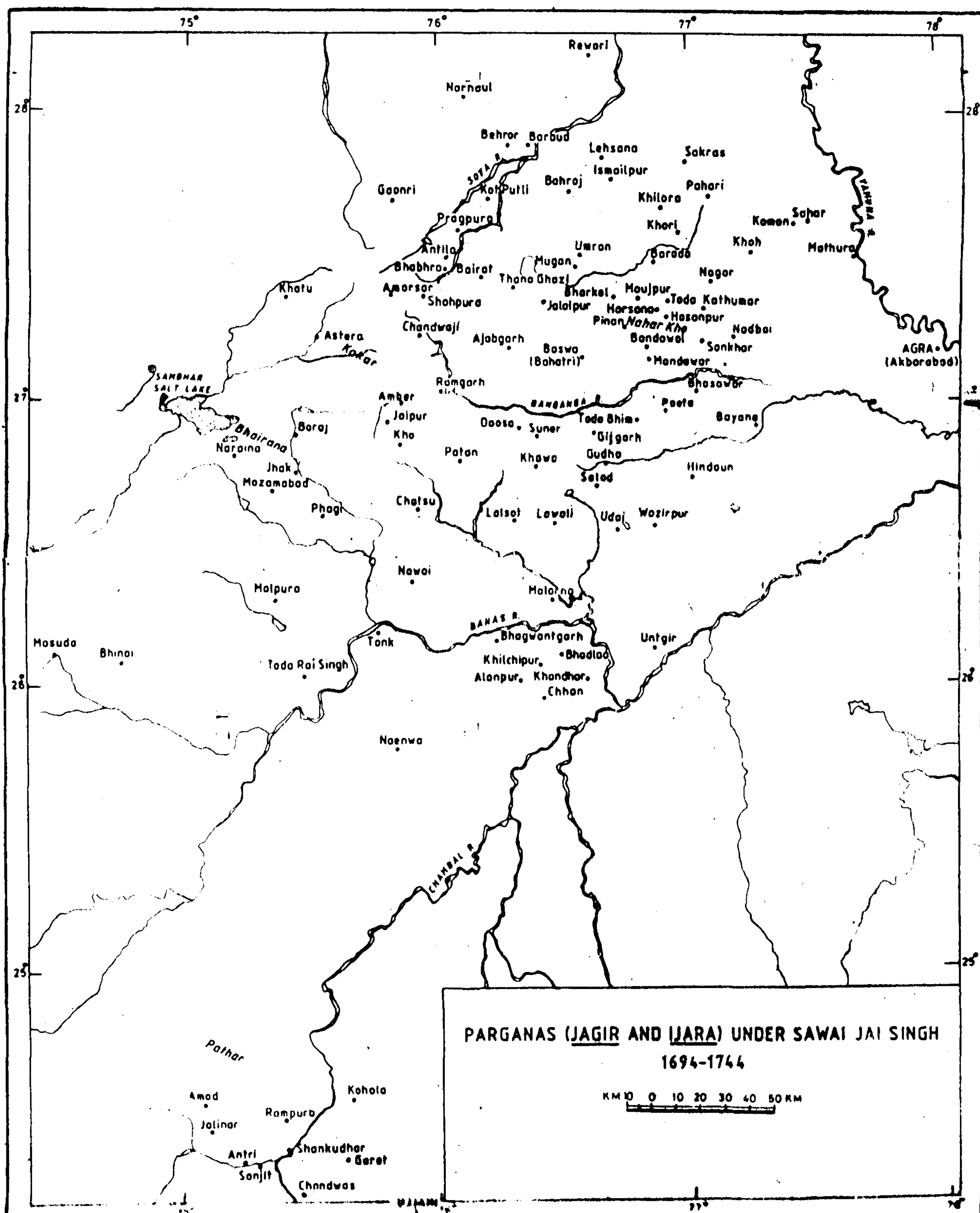
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(Sumbul Haleem Khan)

ABBREVIATIONS

Ain	:	Ain-i Akbari
Akhbarat	:	Akhbarat-i darbar-i mualla
IESHR	:	Indian economic and social historical review
IHR	:	Indian historical review
Jama Kharch	:	Jama Kharch Karkhanazat
MU	:	Maasirul Umara
PIHC	:	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
Plotts	:	A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English
RSA	:	Rajasthan State Archives
Tod	:	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan
VS	:	Vikram Sanwat
VV	:	Vir Vinod
WR	:	Wakil Report
Wills Report	:	The land tenures and powers of certain Thikanedars of Jaipur State.
Wilson	:	Glossary of judicial and revenue terms.

INTRODUCTION



The map is based on S.P. Gupta's unpublished maps on Eastern Rajasthan.

INTRODUCTION

Much has already been said on the political relations of Rāja Jai Singh Sawāi with the Mughal Emperor. Emphasis has been laid in these works on the instrumentality of Jai Singh in the Mughal Maratha relations[1] and the position and contacts of Jai Singh with the Sayyids and other premier nobles.[2] The fluctuating position of Jai Singh Sawāi at the imperial court has also been dealt with.[3] These studies are exhaustive enough to render superfluous further covering of the political aspect.

The theme has also attracted cursory attention of the works dealing with agrarian relations. It is essential to start with Moreland who unfortunately concerned as he was with the Agrarian System makes only stray reflections on Rājas. To him 'The power of the chiefs varied inversely with the strength of the central administration, but they persisted through out the period, and their position was in

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1. Satish Chandra: Jai Singh Sawai and the Imperial Politics, P.I.H.C. 1965.

2. Satish Chandra: Parties and Politics in the Mughal Court, New Delhi, 1979.

3. V.S. Bhatnagar: Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh 1688-1743, Delhi, 1974.

essential that of the modern zamīndār, liable to pay, or account for an annual sum fixed in advance, and making what they could out of the peasants under their control.[1] Regarding the relations of the chief and the imperial court Irfan Habib underlines the assessment of jama' to be paid annually, this he differentiates from pēshkash which he defines as fixed annual tribute and the hallmark and substance of submission.[2]

It was, however, the endeavour of S. Nurul Hasan which brought forth the multidimensional relationship of the chief with Mughal Court.[3] He noted that:

1) the Chieftain received a high mansab and substantial jāgīr for the support of his troops. The revenue from his jāgīr would far exceed that of the chieftains hereditary dominion. This policy resolved to an appreciable degree the basic contradiction between chieftains and the imperial power and made it more fruitful for them to seek promotion in the imperial service than to cast off the imperial yoke

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1. W.H. Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, Delhi, 2nd Ed. 1968.

2. Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963.

3. S. Nurul Hasan: Zamindar under the Mughals, Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, (ed.), R.E. Frykenberg.

and attempt to expand their territory in defiance of imperial authority.

2) The Mughals asserted the principle which later came to be known as that of 'paramountcy'.

3) Mughals successfully utilized systematically the military services of even such chieftains as did not hold mansabs.

4) The Mughal Emperor appear to have pursued the policy of entering into direct relationship with the vassals of some of the more important chieftains, thus reducing the power of these chieftains and creating a new class.

5) Of great importance was the Mughal attempt to treat the hereditary dominions of the autonomous chiefs as watan jāgīrs.

6) The Mughal Emperors succeeded to a greater extent than their predecessors in compelling the autonomous chiefs to conform to imperial regulations especially in regard to the maintenance of law and order and freedom of transit. These observations paved way for the region-wise study by Ahsan

Raza Khan.[1] In the attempt, he has dealt with the subas of Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Gujarat, Ajmer, Malwa, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Bihar and Bengal. The assessments, therefore, remains of a very general nature and applicable for an earlier period.

Among the works on Eastern Rajasthan proper in his articles assembled in 'Medieval Indian Society, the jagirdari crisis and village', Satish Chandra analysed the factors which created a crisis towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of 18th century leading to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire and socio-economic forces at work. The role of these autonomous chieftains and the resources they had with them at the rise of local zamīndārs has been well taken.

In the recent studies S.P.Gupta in "The Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan (1650-1750)" on the basis of empirical evidence and detailed account of local sources related to various aspects of economy, has established that Eastern Rajasthan confirms the larger analysis of the Mughal agrarian system and rejected the case for uniqueness. Dilbagh Singh in 'The State, landlords and Peasants' though

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1. Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar, Simla, 1977.

entitles the book on the 18th century but focussed mainly the second half of the 18th century indicates the shattered economy of Eastern Rajasthan when the Mughal administration had declined.

II

The limited nature of studies so far pursued invites one to probe further the position of the Amber State and the relations enjoyed in relation to the Mughal Court. The above studies having dealt with an earlier period offer conclusions which mainly concern the same period.

The Amber Rājas having submitted at the imperial court were assigned mansabs. The payment of which was made to them from the jāgīrs they already held i.e. their waṭan and the remaining salary was adjusted from their ṭankhwah jāgīrs.

While Wills and other modern historians will lead us to believe that Amber was a small chunk of land excluding the areas so close to it as Manoharpur and Dausa. But the fact remains that Amber was mentioned along with parganas Phagwi, Jhak and Mauzabad. Such a treatment was called upon due to the fact that these parganas fall under the same dastūr circle. It seems interesting that the same parganas

which form the *zamīndāris* of the Rāja were petitioned for *jāgīrs* too. These *parganas* were then claimed to be in the *watan* of the Rāja. How short term leases were managed and the manner in which these were renewed repeatedly and then petitioned for *jāgīr* are especially noteworthy.

Such a sequence of events had obvious repercussions on the territories adjoining to that of the Rāja. Information alluding to the vulnerable position of the petty *jāgīrdārs* is forthcoming in this respect.

The position of the Rāja seems at variance in the territories other than their *watan*. Though, the intentions here, too, were similar namely to wield more control over the area by having his own selected men in the administration ; at the same time, he was prepared to adopt suitable policy in these territories where he found his administration would not prevail such as he did not hesitate to sublet the area, where as a *jāgīrdār* he felt that revenue collection from the local *zamīndārs* was a difficult task.

The backbone of the Rājas' strength was his clan. These clannish contingent, in lieu of the payment, obtained *jāgīrs* and served the army. They also formed the bureaucracy of the Rāja. In essence, he was extremely dependent on these clannish affiliations. The privileges of the Rājāwat clan

over the rest of the clans was predominant but this stretched only to the extent of being alert against any possible disturbance by the other clans. The Rājāwat were, however, not allowed any remission in the perquisites expected by the Rāja.

The clannish affiliation were the basis of the smooth functioning of his administration which included the kārkhānās. Needless to emphasise that this was in consonance with his obligations towards the Emperor.

The policies of the nobles at the helm of affairs kept changing. It is, however, peculiar that even in such fluctuations the Amber Rājas enjoyed an important position. Reconciliation and not resistance became the crucial point in their policy.

The Mughal Emperors did in theory have the say in the succession and administration of the Rāja's territory. The responses of the Rāja on such checks and the latitude which he gave to accept such regulations reveals his importance.

It is at this juncture necessary to pause over the disorganised administrative system of the Mughal Empire and the important position of the Rāja. The Rāja notwithstanding

his attempts of expansion was satisfied under the glory however, wane of the Mughal Empire.

It goes without saying that with the weakening of the Mughal Empire, the Amber state too became weak. The flaws were inherent in the administrative system itself. The privileges granted to the Rājāwat clan made them more and more powerful. The power of these leaders rested on local elements serving them directly. The result being these clannish leaders claiming their rights independent of the Amber chiefs.

In order to make the above study possible, apart from the stray references found in the Persian sources, extensive use is made of the archival material preserved at the Rajasthan State Archives.

Wakīl reports form one of the most important categories of document for the topic under study. The Amber wakīl being stationed at the Imperial Court, his arzdāshts to the Raja bear reflections on the relations of the Rāja with the imperial court. The petitions for enhancement of mansab, assignment of jāgīr, grant of such honours as naqqāra, in'ām etc. were made through the wakīl. The difficulties the wakīl had to face due to the court politics or any lapse on the part of the Rāja were recorded in these

arzdāshts alongwith the suggestions of the wakīl in view of the conditions at the Court. These reports stretch for the period 1639 to at least 1739. The arzdāshts of the diwān provide corroboration to wakīl reports and at times adds information pertaining to the finances which the diwān dealt. The parwānās were letters and orders issued by the Rāja to the wakīls and other officials. These included instructions and the steps to be taken by the state and pargana officials in relations to the imperial policy.

The akhbārāt-i-darbār-i mu'allā record every request publicly made, every order issued by the Emperor and all enquiries made by him. These documents cover the period from the 20th RY of Aurangzeb's reign (1676) till the deposition of Farrukh Siyar (1719).

The arhsattas have now become known for their mine of information. These were maintained for the parganas assigned to Amber rulers in tankhwāh jāgīrs or ijāra by the Mughal Emperor. These documents prove of extreme help to determine the number of villages which comprised a pargana, the clans inhabiting it, the muqarara jama' and hāl hāsil figures were listed alongwith the categories of taxes covered under it. Arhsatta bābat ijāra provide information on cesses of the leased area. Arhsatta jamiat kharch sheds light on the

various heads of expenditure incurred on the maintenance of the Rāja's contingent.

Taqsīm documents shed light on the measurement of area under the tankhwāh jāgīr of Amber rulers, as also its break up among cultivated and uncultivated land. The revenue realized is at times given for ten years at others for fifteen years and therefore these documents are termed taqsīm dahsāla and taqsīm pandrahsāla.

Awārija mutāliba assists in forming an idea of the dues and deductions made against the clans of Rāja's contingent, the amount of payment made and arrears outstanding against a person and the treatment meted out in the latter condition.

The siyāh tasīha gives details of surname, clan, amount received, the attendance of horses and dōls (sawārs), quality and numerical strength of the horses, number of muskets, date and place of branding. Mention is also made of the jami'atdār under whom a person served.

Chehra naqdi documents record the name of the recruit, alongwith father's and grandfather's name, clan, domicile, complexion, distinguishing features, the amount received,

the number of sawārs, the quality of horse and the rate of maintaining each quality of horse, number of barqandāz and their remuneration.

CHAPTER - 1

MANSAB AND REVENUE ASSIGNMENT

The Mughal Emperor assigned the right to revenues and other taxes to his nobility. The revenue of these areas assigned was designated as jāgīr and its holder was known as jāgīrdār. The mansabs of these jāgīrdārs were enhanced and favours granted depending upon the loyalty and other achievements.

Against the mansab, the jāgīrdār had to maintain a contingent among other obligations. The pay scale for the time of Akbar is found at length in the Āīn-i-Akbarī.[1] Iqbālnāma records the scales at the time of Jahangir's accession.[2] The scales as promulgated in the 11th year of Shahjahan under the signature of Afzal Khan are reproduced in Farhang Kārdāni,[3] those issued in the 14th year under the signature of Islam Khan are extant[4] while those with the signature of Sadullah Khan are recorded in Dastūr ul 'amal-i-Ālamgīrī.[5]

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1. Abul Fazl, Āīn-i Akbarī, pp.178-185.
2. Iqbālnāma, II, Or.1834, f.233a.
3. Farhang-i-Kārdāni, f.24a-b.
4. Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign ed. Yusuf Hussain pp.79-84.
5. Dastūr-ul 'Amal-i-Ālamgīrī, ff.121a-123a.

The reduction and enhancement of mansab was also the prerogative of the Emperor. Pancholi Megh Raj in an arzdāsht to Rāja Bishan Singh informs about the displeasure of Aurangzeb due to the former's efforts to rehabilitate the Jats in parganas Toda Bhim and Chatsu. The Emperor ordered a reduction of 500 zāt (unconditional) and 500 sawārs (conditional) from the Rāja's mansab and in'ām amounting to sixty five lakh dāms. The parganas were granted to other nobles in jāgīr. The pursuance of the Rāja in the above issue led to a further reduction of 500 sawārs. Later, however the former rank was restored.[1]

Full details of pay were mentioned against the rank of the Raja with the names of pargana (of sarkār and sūba) against which the jama' dāmi was stated since the Mughals recorded pay assignment in dāms. (Table I). The jama'dāmi was mainly fixed at the qasba, pargana and village level. As in 1638, we find Mirza Rāja Jai Singh was conferred upon a mansab of 5000/5000. The salary fixed against the mansab was 5,39,87,422 dāms, adjusted against parganas Bhairana (sārkār Alwar) Niwai (sarkār Ajmer) Amber etc. (sarkār Ajmer and Sūba Ajmer) Pachwara (sūba Akbarabad) and Shahpur etc.

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1. WR Māgh Vadi 13, 1748/6, Jan, 1692.

(sūba Lahore).[1] Mirza Rāja Jai Singh in 1661, was raised to the mansab of 7000/7000 and 7000/7000 (2-3 h) in 1665, the maximum rank permitted to any noble.[2] He could further be honoured by in'ām assignments, which too he availed.[3] Similarly, Jai Singh Sawai was granted the rank of 7000/7000[4]. The total amount of his salary amounted to 8, 74, 31, 431.[5]

While assigning an area its revenue was determined which had to be equivalent to the sanctioned pay. For which reason jama' or total-estimated income or assessed revenue was prepared. The jama' was also fixed at the qasba, pargana and village level in rupees.

The jama' was calculated on the basis of the measured cultivable land based on the survey of total measured land

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1. Yaddāsht dtd 1, Rabi' I, 1048/13, July, 1638.

2. Ālamgīrnāma ed. K. Hussain and Abdel Hai pp.618 and 917, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1665-73.

3. Ibid. Also arzdāsht from Pancholi Jagjiwan Das to Mahārāja Jai Singh, acknowledging with gratitude the parwāna of the Mahārāja, he records the grant of fifty lakhs of dāms as in'ām and an increment of 800 sawār mashrūt (conditional) which would amount to a claim of 1 crore forty lakhs dāms. He informs that the said talab will be claimed from havēli of Ahmadabad WR, Māgha Sudi 9, VS 1768 (February 5, 1712).

4. WR dtd Baisākh Sudi 10, 1764/11 April 1707.

5. WR dtd Māgh Vadi 7, V.S. 1770/23, Jan. 1714.

(kul ārāzī) of a pargana and deducting the land which was classed unfit for cultivation and therefore unassessable. However the charitable land (punya udik) was included in the area while fixing the jama'.[1] It is interesting to note that the area which was left unassessed was surveyed under different heads. A large number of taqsīm documents bear testimony to this statement.[2] One may recollect that Abul Fazl in 15th year of Ilāhi era took the taqsīmāt-i mulk from the qanūngos and estimated the mahsūl, a new jama' thus came into force.[3] The qanūngos received the schedule from the qanūngos working at the pargana level. Unfortunately, the taqsīm papers of Akbar's period do not survive, such papers are, however, extant for our period.[4]

As noted earlier the jama'dāmi of Amber in 1593 was 1,22,56,297 dāms.[5] A perusal of table I reveals that apart from the above figure, others are round figures. There

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1. See taqsīm papers also S.P. Gupta: Agrarian information in taqsīm documents from Eastern Rajasthan (1649-1767), P.R.H.C., Vol.XI, Jaipur 1979.

2. Ibid.

3. Āīn, 1, pp.3876-545.

4. Taqsīm papers.

5. It is to be noted that the jama'dāmi of Amber was the highest among the rest of the parganas of Ajmer see Āīn 1, pp.130-131.

appears considerable consistency in jamaʿdāmi figures stretching from the year 1638 to 1714.[1] In the year 1688, however, the variation is explained by the difference being adjusted under takhfīf-i-dāmi.[2] (Table III b).

One is surprised to find the jamaʿdāmi of Amber being two crore in 1677, while the total number of villages assigned were 541. In 1714, again the jamaʿdāmi was two crore while the total number of villages had exceeded to 701. It seems that the estimation for salary payment for a particular place was not easily disturbed by the Imperial revenue department.

Explanation to this trend may be offered in two ways. One, that the survey was not done on annual basis. The other explanation seems that a large number of villages were attached to a pargana for the assessment purpose on temporary basis and later transferred to the original pargana. In the other parganas as that of Chatsu and Lalsoth the jamaʿdāmi figures correspond to the increase in the number of villages (Table I). Whatever, the jamaʿdāmi of Amber it does

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1. See Table I in which statistics available in the Āʾīn is compared with that of arhsattas. Also see Table III where jamaʿdāmi of the parganas referred to in Āʾīn have been compared with kaghzāt-i Mutafarriqa.

2. Arzdāsht dtd 1688, Reg no 67.

not show any variance while in other parganas it is notable. It presumably was because of Amber being the watan of the Rāja.

Muqarara jama' is another term which is frequently used in arhsattas of different parganas assigned in jāgīr to the Rāja. This term should not be confused with jama'dāmi of the Mughals. Muqarara jama' is expected income from a pargana in current year. The figures of muqarara jama could be obtained by adding up the amount of hāl hāsil (revenue realised in the current year) and the bāqi etc. (the balance of the previous year). As we know the balance and arrears (bāqi etc.) constantly fluctuated, therefore, muqarara jama' is marked by an increase in its figures.

It is, therefore, likely, that the difference between the three sets of figures i.e. jama' (dāmi), Muqarara Jama' (in rupees) and hāl hāsil are considerable. Needless to add that the gap between jama' and hāsil (in rupees) was therefore even larger.[1]

It has been argued that jama' (as against jama'dāmi) figures would always change due to the fluctuation in the cultivable area, and crop rates. But in pargana Udai, the

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1. See supra Table II.

cultivable area remained the same beginning from 1649 till 1705, the jama' however showed fluctuations. It is understandable that survey was not possible in every year. Once it was done, it remained in force for a long time. So the explanation forwarded for the fluctuation in jama' is the due to varying crop-rates and fluctuating prices.[1]

A jāgīrdār accepted a jāgīr of low revenue yielding capacity due mainly to the 'month-scale', which device was formulated under Shah Jahan to reduce the mansabdārs' obligation in conformity with the proportion the hāsil of their jāgīr bore to its jama'dāmi.[2]

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1. S.P. Gupta, 'Revenue Estimation, Assessment and Realization in Mughal Empire-Scrutiny of taqsīm papers from Subas of Agra and Ajmer. Paper presented in IHC, 1992, Delhi.

2. "At last, during the reign of Shahjahan, we come across a new method for overcoming the difficulties and injustice involved in variations between the jama'dāmi and the actual receipt to make the jama'dāmi correspond exactly with the hāsil. On the other hand, the divergence between them was recognised for a fact, and the annually changing ratio between the receipts and the standing assessment was marked out for each mahāl and expressed in terms of month-proportion (māhwār) (Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.264).

TABLE I

ASSIGNMENTS

No.	Name of *pargana*	Total *jama'* (in *dāms*)	Break up	Name of the person	Remarks
N+P		8,74,31,431			The grand total of present and new *jāgīr*
P		3,57,00,000		Mahārāja	The total *jamadāmi* of present *jāgīr*
P	Amber etc.	3,56,72,946		"	The total *jamadāmi* of Amber etc (*watan jāgīrs*)
P	Amber		2,00,00,000	"	*Watan jāgīrs*
P	Dausa		61,57,000	"	"
P	Chatsu		68,43,000	"	"
P	Sarsop		18,72,946	"	"
P	Phagwi		8,00,000	"	"
P	Jaisinghpura Lahore	27,073		"	*Tankwāh jāgīrs*
P	Bidiyatbad Sahpura		15,000	"	"
P	Talwade		5,478	"	"
P	Sawad Shehr		6,595	"	"
P		50,39,900		Kunwar Chimna Sahib	The toal *jamadāmi* of Kunwar Chimna Sahib's *jāgīr*

No.	Name of *pargana*	Total *jama* (in *dams*)	Break up	Name of the person	Remarks
P	Phagwi		26,43,524	"	
P	Niwai		22,41,376		
P	Chatsu		1,55,000	"	
N		4,66,91,531			The total *jamadami* of new *jagir*
N	Khohri	1,78,82,003			
N			39,43,028		*Minha izafa*
N	Mahmudabad	26,36,334			
N			9,00,000	*Padshahi Mansabdars*	
N			17,36,334	Maharaja	
N	Mandawar	10,34,000		"	
N	Tonk	1,03,00,000		"	
N	Deoti Sanchari	1,00,00,000		"	
N	Lalsot	66,82,222		"	

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF JAMA'DAMI, MUQARARA JAMA' AND HAL HASIL

AMBER

YEAR	NO OF VILL	JAMA'DAMI	MUQARARA JAMA' (Rs.)	HAL HASIL (Rs.)	% of Hāl Hāsil to muqarara jama'
1595	-	122,562,97			
1638		160,000,00 (Rs.40,0000)			
1677	541	2000,00,00 (Rs.50,0000)		485141	97
1688-89	-	160,000,00 (Rs.400,000)		223964	56
1713		2000,00,00 Rs. 500000		153232	30.64

CHATSU

YEAR	NO OF VILL	JAMA'DAMI	MUQARARA JAMA' (Rs.)	HAL HASIL (Rs.)	% of Hāl Hāsil to muqarara jama'
1595	-	7536829			
1638	244	4171330			
1714	288	6843000 (Rs.171070)	160827	93316.40	54.5

DAUSA

YEAR	NO OF VILL.	JAMA'DĀMI	MUQARARA JAMA' (Rs.)	HĀL HĀSIL (Rs.)	% of Hāl Hāsil to muqarara jama
1714	135	61,57,000 (Rs.153925)	5690		

LAL SOTH

YEAR	NO OF VILL.	JAMA'DĀMI	MUQARARA JAMA' (Rs.)	HĀL HĀSIL (Rs.)	% of Hāl Hāsil to muqarara jama'
1714	149	6692222 Rs.16,7306	87051 Rs.167005	86681.21	52

MALARANA

YEAR	NO OF VILL.	JAMA'DĀMI	MUQARARA JAMA' (Rs.)	HĀL HĀSIL (Rs.)	% of Hāl Hāsil to muqarara jama'
1724	148	44,27054 (Rs.110676)	1,67367	1506770	13%

TABLE III (a)

	PARGANA	BIGHA		JAMA'	
		AIN	TAQSIM	AIN	TAQSIM
1.	ANTELA BHABRA	37,434	61,180 (1649-63)	850731	160,0000 (1715)
2.	UDAI	9,11,100	3,82,543 (1734-43)	2884365	30,000,00 (1688-1700)
3.	NIWAI	50,890	3,05,967 (1732-41)	930000	28,000,00 (1714)
4.	NARAINA	1,33,307	3,14,378 (1733-42)	2660159	
5.	HINDAUN	7,24,395	6,99,526 (1733042)	904983	
6.	AMARSAR Ilahi	12,74,713	94,776 (1758-67)	7029370	
7.	PHAGI	3,49,774		1400000	64,13514 (1708)
8.	DAUSA	- Ilahi	1,32,00,00 (Of Qasba only)		61,57,000
9.	JHAK	27,092,18		501844	77,000,00 (1714)
10.	DEOTI-SANCHARI	83188		1600000	80,000,00
11.	KOL	54,8655		10412305	1500000 (1694)
12.	MATHURA	37,347		1155807	
13.	LALSOTH	Ilahi			6682222 (1714)
14.	BAHATRI	20,789		100,356	

15.	MALARNA	172,693	3299241
16.	GEEJGARH		
17.	PONKHAR		
18.	DIDWANA	36,581	4586828
19.	CHATSU	516525	7536829
20.	BAWAL	110375	4114753
21.	REWARI	405108	11906847

TABLE III b

JAMA'DĀMI

S.No.	PARGANA	ĀĪN	KĀGHZĀT-I MUTAFARRIQA	R.S.A. 1688-99
1.	AMBER	1,22,56,297	200,00,000	1600000/ 1714/20000000
2.	BHAIRANA	7,49,733	16,60,000	
3.	BHINAI	2,71,256	44,502,05	
4.	PHAGI	1200000 JHAK/ 1400000 PHAGI	1900000	7700000 JHAK 1714/ 64,15314 PHAGI 1708
5.	MUIZZABAD	1,459,577	3248438	
6.	TODRI	5456840	1,3400000	
7.	TODA	5859006	1,0020000	
8.	TONK	7500000	120,00000	

9.	CHATSU	756829	1362406	1714 6843000
10.	MALARNA	3299241	14000000	1699 71,40,000 1724 44,27054
11.	LALSOTH		PACHWARA 300 00 000	1714 6682222

TABLE IV

BREAK UP OF ĀRĀZĪ (Total area of Parganas)

I. Pargana Naraina, Sarkār Amber Sūba Ajmer	(1711-1720)	
A. Cultivable area	2,85,725	90.88%
B. Unassessed area which includes abādi (inhabited) tālāb (tanks) Sorkallar, nullah, and wells.	28,654	9.12
Total Area	3,14,378	
II. Qasba Baswa	(1705-1713)	
A. Cultivable area	2,56,233	83.75%
B. Unassessed area	49,734	16.25

Bunjar thal nullah, Vārhdar, Chowkāyat, bagbayāt

Total measured area, 3,05,967

It appears that to keep a countercheck on the jama' and its enhanced amount if regained, the hāsil for ten years (as borne out from muwāzna dahsāla documents) was also maintained for the purpose of jāgīr assignment. A large number of muwāzna dahsala are available for the pargana assigned to Jai Singh Sawai.[1]

While comparing the extent of measurement for our period with that of the closing years of the 16th century, given in Āīn (these figures being converted into bīgha-i-daftari prevalent in Eastern Rajasthan) one finds that out of the six parganas Hindaun, Udai and Amarsar, the measured area was higher at the time of Āīn, in the remaining parganas of Antela Bhabra, Naraina and Niwai, the area had increased in the intervening period.[2] Bearing in mind the fluctuating boundaries of the pargana, the general trend in the increased surveyed area and therefore in the area under cultivation is marked. One may explain the increase in surveyed area at the time of Āīn by the fact that measurement did not cover the entire revenue paying area in

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1. See Appendix I.

2. See taqsīms Hindaun, Udai, Amarsar Antela, Bhabra, Naraina and Niwai also Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan, op.cit., p.43.

any province. Moreover, in the time of Aurangzeb, though a large number of villages were left unmeasured in almost all the provinces. Fortunately, as revealed from taqsīm documents, all the revenue paying area held by Amber Rāja in jāgīrs indicates complete measurement (Table IV).

As a result of the increase in cultivable/cultivated area, the figures of jama'dāmi also increases (see jama'dāmi). As said earlier, the rise of prices in this context should also be borne in mind. The cultivable area as shown in Table IV indicates a higher percentage of cultivable area as compared to total measured area. This comes 90.88% and 83.75% respectively in parganas Naraina and qasba Baswa (Table IV).

The point that emerges from the above study is that the jama' was rarely fixed by a stroke of pen. It was always kept in mind, while assigning a jāgīr to mansabdār that he should get approximately the revenue he is assigned including other cesses, so that the revenue claims (talab) from the Imperial exchequer lessened.

II

Certain deduction were made from the salary of the Jāgīrdār (Rāja). Of these, we find mention of irmās (a deduction of one twelfth of the annual gross pay claim of

Zāt as well as sawār)[1] Chauthāi Khāsah as is discernable from the term itself amounted to one fourth of the pay claim on zāt.

Besides these an interesting wakīl's report informs us that one crore dāms were expected from a noble who maintained five elephants as khurāk-i dawāb.[2] From this document we come to know that this rate prevailed in Bahadur Shah's time as per the tradition of Aurangzeb. According to Manucci, men who had risen to the pay of a hazāri mansabdār and the rank of Umara were obliged to maintain one elephant and six horses for the King's service and with each rise in pay, a man was obliged to increase the number of these animals. In the reign of Bahadur Shah the sums (dāms) thus calculated were adjusted against jāgīrs of equivalent jamaʿ freeing the mansabdārs from the obligation of obtaining supplies and paying in cash for animals.

The states financial claim over the noble from his salary is also mentioned.[3] These amounts accumulated

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1. Yaddāsht Persian dtd. 1636.
2. WR, dtd 1714
3. Yaddāsht op.cit.

against the chief from unpaid loans (_musādadat_)[1]. Unlawful appropriation (_tassaruf_). This was more common due to the fact that Jai Singh Sawai had consciously started expansion of his territory and the presence of an important noble in adjoining areas hampered his autonomy.[2] We find the _wakīl_ of Amber being warned against such acts on the part of the chief.[3]

Incidentally, it has been noticed that while collecting _mutāliba_ from his own sub assignees, the rāja was very expedient.[4]

Thus we see that Mughal administration was firm and clear in making revenue assignment, its assessment and realization on one hand, while on the other, the Imperial authorities were keen that a _jāgīrdār_ should implement its policy strictly. Defaulters were punished, their _jāgīrs_ were transferred and even confiscated to Imperial _khālisa_ and preserved in _paibāqi_. The Amber rulers as a _mansabdār/jāgīrdār_ were no exception to it.

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1. _WR_ 1711, 1712 etc.
2. _WR_ 1715
3. _WR_ 1714, 1715
4. _WR_.

CHAPTER-2

THE RĀJAS *WATAN* AND ITS EXTENSION

The history of Kachhwahas is less authentic prior to Bharamal. Abul Fazl in an interesting passage states that "he (Bharmal) left the circle of *zamīndārs* and became one of the select of the Mughal Court."[1] It is evident from the statement that the Mughal Chancellory designated him as *zamīndār*. These *zamīndārs* close to the Emperor were bestowed special favours.[2] In conformity with this policy the Amber rulers too were assigned high *mansabs* at the Imperial Court, against which revenue assignments were made to them. It is, however, notable that the ruler of Amber fared better in comparison with the other Kachhwaha nobles, from the very outset Bharamal's position was treated to be of crucial significance[3] due to the fact that even the Shekhawats and

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1. *Akbarnama*, II, *Bib Ind.* 1897/1921, p.63.

2. At the time of the expeditions of Durgarpur, Akbar had clearly instructed the *Kunwar* (Man Singh) that the Rama (probably of Udaipur) and other *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood were to be bestowed princely favours and those who opposed should be ruthlessly crushed. *Akbarnāma* III p.40.

3. At the time of expedition against the rebellion of Daud Khan, Akbar took him with his trusted generals. Abul Fazl numbered the total of such nobles as being nineteen among them Rāja Bhagwan Das and *Kunwar* Man Singh are at first and second place. *Akbarnāma* III p.93.

Narukas who ruled their estates independently joined Bharamal at the time of external danger.[1] Bharamal on the other hand was influenced by the prevalent political condition. Mirza Sharfuddin, the governor of Mewat and Nagaur (and also later of Ajmer) while supporting Suja's[2] claim to the throne of Amber had caused anxiety for him and had fixed the amount of tribute. After his submission to Imperial court, he was raised to the rank of 5000. This alliance enriched the Amber ruler's prestige.[3]

Territories recognised as that of the cheif by heridetory right were regarded as their watan jāgīr[4],

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1. Ma'asirul Umara, I, 410-11?

2. Suja was the son of Puran Mal, the elder brother of Bharmal.

3. With the admission of Bharamal in the services of the Mughals, his clan nobles popularly known in Rajasthan as 'bāra kōtrīs' also were benefitted with the Imperial favour, Bāra Kōtris means twelve houses viz. 1. Nathāwat 2. Chatrabujōt, 3. Khangārot, 4. Balbhadrōt, 5. Sultanōt, 6. Kalyanōt, 7. Puranmalot, 8. Pichyanōt, 9. Kumbhāwat, 10. Banvīrpota, 11. Sheobrampōta and 12. Kambhāni. See arhsatta's.

4. S. Nurul Hasan, Zamindars under the Mughals', Land control and social structure in Indian History ed. R.E. Frykenberg London, 1969, pp.17-31, for variant view see V.S. Bhatnagar Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh 1688/1743 Delhi, 1974, p.271. On the contrary S.P. Gupta had conclusively asserted on the basis of archival records that even before the submission to the Mughals, the position of the rulers of Amber could merely be termed as zamīndār or chief Cf. Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan (Chapter I and III)

though the term is not found in Akbar's time. Nurul Hasan while analysing the position of the zamīndārs calls such zamīndārs as the Amber ruler as autonomous chieftains.[1] The watan jāgīr was assigned at a notional revenue figure (Jama) which according to him was appropriated towards meeting the salary of the chief and pay claims of the contingent kept by him for imperial use.[2]

Tod states that "At the accession of Jai Singh, the rāja of Amber consisted of three parganas Deosah, and Bussaw, the western tracts had been sequestrated and added to the royal dominion attached to Ajmer. The Sheikhawat confederation was superior to, and independent of the parent state, whose boundaries were as follows. The royal thāna (garrison) of Chatsoo to the south those of Sambhar to the west and Hastera to the north west; while the east, Deosah and Bussaw formed its portion.[3]

(1650-1750). Theoritically and practically, mughals asserted paramountcy at several occasion as is borne out by a large number of wakīl reports.

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1. Zamindars under the Mughals, op.cit.
2. Ibid.
3. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol.II,p.1351.

The domains of the Kachhwaha had been divided before Akbar between the Rajāwāts and Sheikhāwats. A perusal of wakīls reports reveals that the Sheikhāwats in earlier times were dominant over the Rājāwats of Amber. The Rājāwats were pressed hard by these neighbours, therefore they had control over their watan Amber alone.[1]

Amber had the jama' worth 1,22,56,297 dāms in 1595. The area for which this jama' was allocated constituted the watan of the Rāja and therefore could not be assigned to any other noble.[2]

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1. See C.U. Wills, Appendix G.

2. It has been argued by Inayat Ali Zai in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis entitled Mughals and the Rajputs 1605-1659 A.D., 1982, A.M.U. that in 1597 part of the revenue of pargana Amber was controlled by the Central Government. Sanganer a mahāl in pargana Amber was given as Jagir to Ram Udawat". Apart from the fact that Ram Udawat is Ram Das and his jāgīr is three kuroh away, from Sanganer mauza lamba. See Ma'asir-i-Umra, Vol.I, p.804. This Ram Das then tallies with Ram Das Kachhwaha. See Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Vol.II, p.354. Note may also be taken of the fact that how the presence of a Kachhwaha noble holding the rank of only 500 zāt. (See Apparatus of the Mughal Empire, p.18) would alter the position of the bigger jagirdar. In fact it was customary for the Rāja to put forth and promote the claims of his clansmen at the Imperial Court by obtaining for them mansab and jāgīr in close proximity to his watan and tankhwāh jāgīrs. See Yāddāsht Oct. 1708.

Pargana	Phagwi
Sultan Singh	Banda-i-dargāh
11,60,000 dāms	23,53,514 dāms

Hopeful the arrears of payment amounting to

Interestingly enough, Amber remains the original watan even in our period. Testimony to which is borne out from wakīl's report of 1694. "Only Amber is the watan of the Rāja whoever wishes for assignment in other territores may be

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1,15,33,386 dāms will be adjusted from pargana Dausa against the following.

Hakim Singh S.o Bahadur Singh
Kachhwaha Nabarpota

Enhancement	Actual mansab
300/250	700/750

Shyam Singh S/o Murdal Singh
Kachhwaha Khangarōt

Enhancement	Actual mansab
200/200	200/100

Amar Singh S/o Hari Singh
Kachhwaha Khangarot

Enhancement	Actual mansab
200 Sawār	500/300

Prithvi Singh S/o Kanchan Singh
Kachhwaha Khangarōt

Enhancement	Actual mansab
750/100	250/100

Also wajib ul arz dtd. 9 Zialbad 1123/1711

"Lal Singh and other young Rajputs have complained against Marathas, Afghans etc. I have brought them with me and hope that as per the recommendation (Tajvīz) they may be conferred mansab.

assigned it except for Amber.[1]

The concept of watan gradually began encompassing such territories as were held heridetarily or where their zamīndāri rights prevailed. Thus parganas like Ajabgarh were referred to as mahāl-i-watan[2], Niwai is another such pargana.[3]

It is worthwhile noting here that despite the clear distinction between mahāl-i-watan and zamīndāri both were opted in close proximity, becoming therefore complimentary to each other. Preference for the parganas indexed in the same dastūr circle were greater. Possibilities of obtaining such parganas in continuity were constantly explored. Parganas Jhak. Mauzabad and Phagwi formed a dastūr circle alongwith Amber,[4] therefore assignments of these were taken

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1. WR dtd Asārh vadi 8, 1750/16 June 1693. Also see Chithi dtd. 1756. Another WR is equally noteworthy wherein the wakil of Amber was asked to justify Rājas claim over pargana Chatsu which was 30 kōs away from Amber He represented that the Rāja's clansmen (ulūs) were settled in the village of pargana Chatsu, no additional recruitment would be necessary. It may therefore be inferred that Chatsu did not from even the jāgīr in the above year.

2. Wājib ul arz 1123/1711.

3. Parwana addressed to wakīl dtd 14 Safar 1117/7 June 1706.

4. Āīn, Vol.I, p.22.

as *tankhwah jāgīr*[1] later on Phagwi remained in the *tankhwāh jāgīr*,[2] while Jhak and Mauzabad were taken on *ijāra*[3] similarly Chatsu being a contiguous *pargana* was very important, it formed the *tankhwāh jāgīr* even in 1638[4], and was considered in 1714 to be one of the *parganas* held since long in *jāgīr*. It is interesting to note that both Jai Singh and Vijay Singh held *Jāgīrs* in Chatsu.[5]

Pargana Malarna too was in the *tankhwāh jāgīr* of the Rāja in the year 1690, 1711-19, 1723-32, 1736-50 and on *ijāra* in the year 1714. List of such *parganas* held in continuity can be exhaustive.[6]

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1. *Yaddāsht* I *Rabi* I 1048/ 13 July 1639.
2. *WR* dtd *Māgh Vadi* 7, 1771/23 Jan 1714
3. Cf. *Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, pp.34-35.
4. *Yaddāsht* 1 *Rabi* 1048/1638.
5. *WR* dtd *Māgh Vadi* 7, 1771/23 Jan 1714
6. *Arhsattas pargana* Malarna for different years. Notable among these *pargana* are Toda Bhim, Harsana, Malpur, Bhusawar, Dausa, Deoti Sanchari etc. See *WR* dtd 12 *Zilhaj* 1100/17 Sept 1689; 14 *Ramzān* 1103/31 May 1692; 27 *Rajab* 1105/24 March 1694; *Māgh Vadi* 4, 1770/20 Jan 1714 etc.

At a time when the request for an assignment of jāgīr could not materialize, the Rāja opted for ijāra.[1] In this context the prevalant condition is best reflected in a wakīl's report of 1712.

"The jāgīrs of Khan-i Jahan Bahadur extend from Akbarabad to Mewat, therefore he should not be antagonized. The holders of other smaller jāgīrs near the watan will readily agree to give them to us on ijāra once Khan-i-Jahan's jāgīr's are obtained on lease.

Those who are in imperial service they are acquiring whichever jāgīr they can get in ijāra. If you want to serve the Emperor then take Jaitarangna on ijāra so that it remains in control (tassaruf) for three years. The acquisition of areas contiguous to the watan should be given first priority otherwise some other noble might avail the opportunity to obtain them on ijāra."[2]

It would thus emerge that parganas contiguous to watan are deliberately being acquired even if leased on short term

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1. WR dtd Asōj Vadi 4, 1769/6 Oct 1712 "pargana Mojpur sarkar Akbarabad with three lakh fifty five thousand dāms has been taken for three months since there is no possibility of getting the same in jāgīr".

2. WR Bhādva vadi 13, 1769/15 Sept 1712

basis. A notable example of this is pargana Khohri which reveals the operating tactics. While in Jan 1714 Jai Singh was assigned Khohri from Azim ush Shah's jāgīr for three years, on 23 Jan 1714 Jai Singh had been assigned tankhwah jāgīr in the pargana.[1] Finally in July 1714 Churaman Jat's ambition to obtain the zamīndāri of this pargana were challenged by the Rāja's wakīl on the claim that khohri belonged to the watan of the Rāja.

A large number of chitthis and arzdāshts would also indicate that the rāja did not hesitate to use force against Pratap Singh Naruka of village Soda in pargana Malpura.[2] The latter resisted the claims of Amber rulers over their zamīndāris. Amber rulers were always interested in extending their zamīndāri rights and weakening the rights and privileges of the bhomias in order, ultimately to confiscate their zamīndāri rights entirely. Such as, the Solankis of Tonk and others, who rebelled, were supported by all their fellow-caste bhomias from Mewat to Tonk and Malpura against the Rāja and his allies, to defend their

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1. WR Māgh Sudi 14, 1769/29 Jan 1713

2. Parwāna Sakti qarār Miti Asādh 1 Sudi 3 V.S. 1787/1730; Chitthi Qarār Miti Sudi 2 V.S. 1801/1744. Also see R.P. Rana Agrarian Revolts in Northern India during the late 17th and early 18th century, IESHR, XVIII (3&4), pp.291-326.

zamīndāris and even to create new ones.[1] Sometimes the cases were referred by the bhomias to the Mughal court and necessary parwānas were acquired to confirm their rights.[2] Thus one is led to the conclusion, that as soon as the Mughal administration began to disintegrate Sawai Jai Singh did not hesitate to enlarge his zamīndāri rights at the cost of the local zamīndārs. This is also true in case of certain independent thikānas like panchpana Singhana. It comprised three old Mughal parganas of Jhunjhunu, Narhar and Singhana. These parganas were taken over by Sawai Jai Singh from the Mughal state between 1730 and 1744 and is held by a branch of the Shekhawat sept, known as sadānis. They were independent chiefs. The Oaimkhanis had been there for a nearly 200 years and held their territorial chief (zamīndārs). Sawai Jai Singh made Shekhawat as tributory chiefs by granting them ijāras after getting these territories in ijāra from the Mughal government or directly from the ijāradārs. This had lead Mr.Wills to hold that this ijāra system ultimately established Sawai Jai Singh as the sovereign

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1. Cf. S.P. Gupta, Agrarian System, pp.137-38

2. Chitti Miti Sāwan Sudi V.S. 1723/1666.

power asserting his paramountcy.[1] So was the fate of Khetri, Umara, Fatehpur, and Sikar, the thikānas of eminence.

Our study thus suggests that though the extent of the original watan was small but the presence of many zamīndāri mahāls and acquisition of these tracts in jāgīr too, were not only mutually complimentary but also assisted the Rāja to claim such mahāls as mahāl-i-watan.[2]

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1. Report of Inquiry Committee 1933-35. Also see the C.U. Wills: The Land Tenures and Special Powers of certain Thikhānedars of Jaipur State, 1933; Also Jr.Jackson: A Reply to the Report on Wills found Tenures..".

2. WR Asārh Vadi 7, 1771/24 May 1714.

CHAPTER-3

ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORIES OUTSIDE WATAN

After submission to the Mughals, the Kachhwaha rulers of Amber enhanced their power and prestige by becoming part of the Mughal administration. They were required like other nobles to be at the Court as also posted to duty in the provinces. Besides, getting revenue-assignments as Imperial mansabdārs. They held the posts of faujdār and ṣūbedār at different places and administered the area duly assigned to them in accordance with the Imperial regulations. The tendency of the Kachhwaha rulers, particularly from the accession of Sawai Jai Singh to aspire for high manṣabs, remunerative jāgīrs, ijāraṣ and appointments as ṣūbedārs in the regions of their own choice made it necessary for them to keep a vigil on the development of court politics and accordingly extend their support to the influential nobles. Sawai Jai Singh's political career illustrates the way he made use of every opportunity for the above purpose. He did not hesitate either to join a powerful factional group in the court, deserting or rejoining it to meet his interests. He even invested money (muhimṣāzi) for securing favours to exploit the whims of high and low officials. Wakīl Reports and Khutūt-i-maharajgān are replete with such references,

where Sawai Jai Singh's designs though sometimes criticised by the Mughal officials, met with success. The carving cut of the Amber state at the cost of Mughal empire was the culmination of this policy. He administered principalities outside his *watan*. Here an attempt is made to examine how these areas were administered by him, though naturally only a few aspects can be touched upon.

At the onset, it is deemed essential to delineate the nature of the *watan jāgīrs* which as is already known was the ancestral domain of the Rāja and where he enjoyed both *zamīndāri* as well as *jagīrdāri* rights and these at the time of the submission to the Mughal court were recognised as *watan jāgīr*.[1] There were also such *jāgirs* where their *zamīndāri* rights already existed and *jagirdāri* rights were sought by securing *ijāras* at short term and getting them renewed repeatedly unless they were assigned in *jagirs*. With the passage of time, some of these *parganas* were claimed to be in hereditary possession and therefore to be treated as *watan jāgīr*. It may be recalled being true for *parganas* like

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1. Nurul Hasan: The position of the *zamindars* in the Mughal Empire *Land Control and Social Structure in India History* ed. Robert Frykenberg, 1969.

Khohri, Niwai, Ajabgarh etc.[1] The intersection of the zamīndāri and jāgīrdāri rights as gleaned from the above examples provided the hallmarks to the claim of watan in the later span of our period. We shall therefore precautionarily treat presently the ordinary jāgīrs separately these being essentially the non watan jāgīrs.

For the sake of convenience the sample parganas selected have been classified into certain categories e.g. parganas of Malwa, Gujarat, and Narnaul etc. from the fertile and rich areas close to Rajputana. Pargana which were the heartland of the Empire can be enumerated as Rewari, Bawal, Akbarabad etc. Mathura, Kol, Kaman, Pahari and Khohri were included in the jat belt. See Map. However, the areas like Lahore, Kabul and Ghazni which were geographically far off from the capital, where Jai Singh Sawai served strictly on temporary basis have been ignored due to lack of detailed information.

The above categories probably would assimilate the plausible variance among the sample and would facilitate dimensions to a comprehensive tempering of our study besides providing a proper perspective for a comparison within our

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1. Wājib ul arz, 1123/1711; parwāna add to wakīl dtd. 14 Safar 1117/7 June 1706; WR dtd. Asārh Vadi 7, 1771/4 July 1714.

sampled non watan jāgirs as well as from without, i.e. the watan jāgir.

The manner, in which the Rāja harassed the ordinary jagirdārs near his watan and zamīndāri area, is discernible throughout Jai Singh Sawai's time more so in the later span of his reign.[1] Herein, we intend to determine the position he enjoyed without any other right to buttress his status in an ordinary jāgir, the administration, and the relationship that prevailed at such jāgirs and their co-relation with the watan jāgirs.

As in the watan jagirs so also in ordinary jāgirs, the Raja collected the revenue from his assigned area (jāgirs) in lieu of the mansab he held. The hāl hāsil figures when taken account, of give the total revenue including land-revenue and other taxes.[2]

The land revenue was assessed having taken into account the cultivable and uncultivable waste.[3] Measurement

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1. See WR dtd. Asārh Sudi 15 V.S. 1771/27 June 1714 etc.
2. See arhsattas for different parganas.
3. S.P. Gupta: Agrarian information in Taqsīm documents from Eastern Rajasthn 1649-1767, P.R.H.C., 1979.

was the main basis of revenue assessment,[1] although both mode of assessment zabti (schedule of cash revenue rates) and jinsi (crop-sharing) were prevalent in the Mughal Empire. However, recent researches have proved that in watan and adjoining areas jinsi was preferred. But in other areas like Ujjain and Mathura etc,[2] the state collected its share mainly through zabti since the land revenue in cash was a fairly well established practice throughout the Mughal empire. Even if the revenue was collected in kind, it was converted into cash on the basis of prevailing market prices (nirkh-bazār).

What is more important here is to notice a departure from Eastern Rajasthan, i.e. the watan and its adjoining areas, there the bulk of state share was collected through jinsi and then converted in cash. Here in Mathura and Ujjain, the zabt method of assessment predominated jinsi. All the major crops were assessed under zabti. In otherwords, measurement continued as the basic method of revenue-assessment over a very large area under Mughal administration till the very close of the period of Mughal

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1. For details see S.P. Gupta: Agrarian Conditions and Revenue Administration in Ujjain, Sources of Economic History of Rajasthn and Malwa.

2. Ibid: also see S.P. Gupta: Agriculture and revenue rates in Mathura region, 1724-1742.

rule not- withstanding Moreland's contrary judgement.[1] Dastūrs were prepared likewise bearing in mind the nature (i.e. zabti and jinsi) of crop. It is needless to enter the details how well related these crops were. It would suffice our purpose to take into consideration the variance in the revenue demand per bīgha in the sampled areas for which statistics are available. Such a perusal reveals that revenue demand was highest in Ujjain followed by Mathura, Rewari and Kaman as compared to the watan of Amber.[2] The demand in the last case being only nominal. However, it would be worth appreciation to note the fluctuations that might have occurred from the time these dastūrs were set and the period for which our revenue statistics belong.

The extremely fertile nature of soil in the pargana of Ujjain is revealed from the high rates applied to the cash crops and the price high graded crops fetch. Similarly, Mathura being cantonment area had high revenue demand.

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1. Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.124.

2. See S.P.Gupta Agrarian Conditions and revenue administration in Ujjain - a study of the dettailed account of the locality 1774-1775; also S.P. Gupta Agriculture and revenue rates in Mathura region 1724-1742; S.P. Gupta Agrarian Statistics in pargana Rewari and Bawal 1664-65. Sumbul Halim Khan: Agrarian Condition of pargana Kaman and S.P. Gupta: Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan.

Rewari too, had higher rates of revenue demand being in close proximity to the capital, the prices were high which in turn affect the crop-rates.[1]

Entwined with the collection of revenue and the running of the administration is the presence of a zamīndār in these jāgīrs. A perusal of the isolated evidences from our sample parganas assistsus in forming some idea of the relationships the Rāja enjoyed with the zamīndārs of these areas. For example, Amar Singh Chauhan, a powerful zamīndār of tappa Khair and Maharajpur in pargana Kol supported the cause of jat zamīndārs and peasants. Pressed by the circumstances, Jai Singh Sawai had to adhere to farming system. The beneficiaries were invariably local zamindārs. While in Mathura, another pargana of jat belt, the Rāja full fledgely applied the similar administration as we see in watan area. Thus Jai Singh did not unnecessarily involve in confrontation with the local zamīndārs rather it appears that he preferred reconciliation.

The shirkat jāgīrdārs too held much importance as gleaned in the perspective of watan area. The shirkat jāgīrdārs holding ignorable portions of land were

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1. Ibid.

overpowered to meet the cherished expansion of the Amber territory.

The following table would indicate the total number of villages held in jāgīr, shirkat and khalisa. (The absolute number of village is given).

TABLE I

Pargana	Year (AD)	Total villages	Jāgīr Jai Singh	Khālisa or Shirkat	Remarks
Mathura	1724	55	23	32	
Kol	1694	9(tappas)	2(tappas)	7	
Rewari	1664	392	392	-	
Bawal	1664	-	77	-	
Akbarabad	1731	585	180	394	
Ujjain	1715	225	188	37	

From the limited information illustrated it is evident that at least in Mathura, Kol and Akbarabad the percentage of the villages assigned to jāgīrdārs other than Jai Singh was more than half. A possible explanation may be to keep checks and restrictions on Sawai Jai Singh's activity in relation to Jats. It appears from the evidence that other nobles to

whom the assignments were made were also important. They held good number of villages in *jāgir*. Related to this is the composition of these *shrikat jāgirdārs* as revealed in the following Table.

TABLE II

A) *Mathura* 1724

Total *mauza*	Imperial *jagirdārs*	*Jāgir* Jai Singh
50	24	26

Shirkat jāgirdārs

	Name	No. of Vill.
1.	Begum Sahiba	6
2.	Roshna Beg	5
3.	Gajpati Mohan Ram	10
4.	Iteqad Khan	2
5.	Ehsan Muhammad Hayat	1

A) *Akbarabad* 1724

Total *mauza*	*Jāgir* Jai Singh	Imperial *Khālisa*/*jāgirdārs*
585	244	180

Imperial *Khālisa*
Vill.231

Name	No. of Vill.
1. Rāja Anand Singh	29
2. Kotwal Shah Muhammad Hussain Khan	6
3. Jani Khan	10
4. Naina Khan	2
5. Rauza Makbara Tajmahal	29
6. Nizamul Mulk	59
7. Muhammad Aqil etc.	12
8. Mauza Akbar Badshah	10
9. Muhammad Quli Khan	10
10. Sawanih Nagar	40
11. Mustafa Quli Khan	2
12. Kokaltash Khan	21
13. Muhtaram Khan	5
14. Rauza Diwan Ji Begum	2

Besides discerning the heterogenous composition of the assignees, some of these seem important, also the villages assigned for the tombs is noteworthy. It is, however, difficult to ascertain as to how the assignees of one or two villages maintained the whole administrative paraphernalia. Whether shirkat jāgīrdārs of such ignorable

number, handed their areas for administration or leased their jāgirs to the bigger jāgirdārs are the problems unfortunately, not buttressed by the scarce nature of extant information. Though the name, villages and revenue of the shirkat jāgirdārs at times are mentioned in our documents but the income and expenditure is strictly available for the Rāja's territory (Khalisa) alone.[1]

Given the conditions of the imperial court, the appointment of Jai Singh as the zamīndār of Lahore,[2] Sūbedār of Akbarabad[3] and faujdār of Islamabad (Mathura)[4] would have affected the position of Jai Singh as one of the most influential jāgirdārs of these areas.[5] Though more

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1. See arhsattas Akbarabad; and arhsatta Mathura op.cit.

2. G.N. Bahuria, Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapāt Dwara, City Palace, Jaipur.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Jai Singh ijāradār of Patan (Sarkār & Subedar of Akbarabad) retained only such holders as suited his interest. See parwāna dtd Māgh Vadi 12 V.S. 1797/1740. "Patan belonging to pargana Gaonri was held by Bakshi Ram Tanwar. He owes arrears to Dalel Singh Rayawat on account of land revenue etc. and has been negligent in making payment. Accordingly it is ordered that you should pay what is due to Dalel Singh; and Patan is hereby granted to you in zamindāri so establish yourself there and continue to make the customary payments due on account of Māl and Peshkash also parwāna dtd Phālgun Sudi 9 V.S. 1799/ 1742.

information is needed to shed light on such a conjecture. It is striking to find no complaints at the imperial court against harassment of these shirkat jāgirdārs by the Rāja as in the case of watan areas.[1]

Interestingly enough, the area granted to the sub-assignees is smaller or at times absent in the non watan jāgirs.[2] The sub-assignees in most case comprise the bureaucracy serving the Rāja at the pargana or ~~as~~ religious heads.[3] Needless to stress that the majority of them belonged to Kāyastha clan, or were local hereditary officials.[4] This would provide a striking contrast to the examples from the watan areas wherein the sub-assignees were the kernel of the administration. It has also formed the basis of some interesting studies as to how preference to selected clans was made.[5] These clans essentially being Rājas own clan formed an overwhelming majority of the sub-assignees. It has been argued for the above case that these

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1. WR dtd Asārh Vadi 5, 1769/12 July 1712; WR Asārh Sudi 15 1771/27 June 1714 etc.

2. See arhsattas for difference parganas.

3. See arhsatta pargana Rewari V.S. 1721/1664.

4. See arhsatta pargana Ujjain V.S. 1774-75, 1714-15 A.D.

5. See my article on 'Relations to Rulers of Amber with their sub-assignees', P.I.H.C., 1989.

elements helped to curb disturbances created by the other clans. The Rāja is also found claiming jāgīrs in his tankhwāh near to the watan since his clannish sub-assignees were stationed there.[1]

The reason of the variance in both the policies is hard to ascribe except for the fact that the non watan jagirs as noticed earlier are rich in their revenue paying capacities in comparison to watan areas. Hence the Raja reserved most portions of these jāgīrs in his Khalisa as in the case of Ujjain. The number of villages in Rāja's Khalisa remained also unchanged.

Another feature of administration adopted by Sawai Jai Singh in watan and non-watan area was an application of farming system. Allowing the latitude of dangers that forming of revenue incur it seems significant that the Rāja leased out the whole parganas of Kol to the local zamīndārs of the area. Since the bulk of the population belonged to the Jat community and it was difficult to realize the revenue from them without applying force. It was therefore a tactful move on the part of Sawai Jai Singh to resort to

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1. See S.P. Gupta: Sawai Jai Singh as an administrator read at Seminar on Agrarian Structure of Rajasthan.

ijāra without having a confrontation. These ijāradārs were in all the cases either muqaddams or qanūngos or chaudhuris i.e. the big and influential zamīndār. In tappa Gorai of pargana Kol all the ijāradārs belonged to Jat community. By adopting such a policy he could keep friendly relations with the jats as well as implement the imperial orders. It seems that the carrying out of administration by the Rāja was not possible without such an arrangement. though this did not mean appeasement, the ʻāmils of parganas Khori and Pahari were cautioned that the area sublet to jat ijāradār be resumed to Rāja's Khalisa. Warning was also issued not to repeat such sub-lease in future.[1] Notable in the context is the proximity of Khohri and Pahari to Deoti Sanchari, one of the key pargana for the Rāja.[2]

The involvement of the Sawai Jai Singh and other rulers in far flung area of Mughal Empire, the short and long term ijāras of jāgirs, the payment made to high official which ultimately took the shape of bribery (muhimsāzi) involved money. Furnishing surety from the mahājan in case of ijāra became day to day practice. This necessitated hundi system, a system of money transmission

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1. Chitthi to āmils of pargana Khohri and Pahari V.S.

2. WR dtd Asārh Vadi 7, V.S. 1771/4 July 1714.

for distant area. A large number of arzdāshts contain information about such hundīs issued from Ajmer to Aurangabad, Lahore, Shahjahanbad, Ahmadabad, Akbarabad, Banaras etc. The rates and commission varied according to distance and duration. Hudāwan documents give such rates.[1] For Lahore, our data suggests that Purohit Syam Ram, Dhansukh Gujarati, Khadagsen Hathiram of Amber had their gumāshtas at Lahore. Purohit Syam Ram has been mentioned as a banker who had his network of credit at Aurangabad, Lahore and Shahjahanbad.[2]

Our evidence thus strongly suggests that Sawai Jai Singh was conscious enough while dealing as an administrator in the areas outside his watan that there should be wholesome application of the rules of the Mughal administration, while keeping good relations with the local chiefs. Therefore, he adhered to the standard Mughal administration in Ujjain, Rewari and Mathura. But keeping in view the uncertainty of holding the jāgīrs due to the quick transfer of jāgīrs, he did not opt for ijāra as in the case

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1. S.P. Gupta: Money Lending and Banking in Eastern Rajasthan during the 17th and 18th centuries, PIHC, Srinagar.

2. See WR dtd Jyestha Vadi 1, 1769/10 May 1712; Kārtik Vadi 14, 1769/18 at 1712. Also G.D. Sharma 'Vakil Reports Maharajgan', pp.375-385.

of Kol and Akbarabad. In no case, does he appear to have deviated from the Mughal system. He neither had the ambition to enjoy autonomy of these areas nor perhaps was he allowed to be, contrary to the case of his watan and adjoining areas. He did not innovate much, but tried to be accommodating with the local potentates as far as his practical wisdom allowed. Even in shirkat areas, he avoided giving occasion for complaints that could effect his position at the Mughal court. He had to act as a jāgīrdār also as an agent of the Mughal power to carry out its orders and regulations, so long as the Mughal central administration was able to function.

CHAPTER-4

AMBER OFFICIALS AT THE MUGHAL COURT

Considering the fact that the Rāja had to attend his watan and tankhwāh jāgirs as also the far flung sūbedāri and faujdāris, it is deemed essential to understand the instrumentality of the officials who amicably dealt the affairs at the Imperial Court on behalf of the Rāja. Notable among these officials were wakīl and diwān. The multiplicity of their functions made their presence felt both at the state and centre.

WAKĪL

Under the Mughals, mansabdārs, jāgirdārs, nobles and princes who were stationed at the provinces for one or the other purpose and there upon could not be in regular attendance at the Imperial Court, used to appoint certain persons as their wakīl.[1]

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1. Ram Chand was the wakīl of Najabat Khan in the reign of Aurangzeb, Mirāt-ul Haqāiq, Itimad Ali Khan, M.S. Fraser 124, India Office Library, M.F. No.127 History Department, A.M.U. Sikandar Muin also had a wakīl in the imperial Court in the reign of Shahjahan, Surat Singh, Tazkira-i-Pir Hassu Taili f.122(b) M.S. History Department, A.M.U., Amin Abdus Salam Mashhadi was the wakil of prince Khurram at the Imperial court in the 17th RY of Jahangir, Khwaja Kamgar Hussain, Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī, ed. A.Alavi, Bombay, 1978. For wakīls of Ajit Singh; Budh Singh, Rana, See WR Baisākh Sudi 1, 1722/7 May 1715 etc. For our region see G.D. Sharma: Vakil Reports Maharajgan 1693-1712,1987. Also see Sumbul Halim Khan: Correspondence of Rāja of Amber with Mughal Court - a calendar of wakil's letters to the rulers 1681-1715 (unpublished dissertation)

The appointment of wakīls at the court is said to have begun from the time of Mansigh,[1] while the office continued till at least the time of Sawai Jai Singh.[2]

The wakīl had to be conversant with both Persian and Hindawi. His command over these languages is evident from the wakīl's report, Generally speaking the Persian reports tend to be verbose, while those in hindawi are more concise. It may be added that till the reign of Aurangzeb, the impact of persian on hindawi was tremendous, often the latter being transcript of Persian into hindawi. The wakīl report of the later period in striking contrast was a mixture of Rajasthani dialect.

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1. Panchauli Jagjiwan Das complains here of his monetary condition by comparing himself with the wakīls of Man Singh's period WR Phālgun Sudi 12, 1767/23 March 1710, which reveals the presence of wakīl in the time of Man Singh.

2. The information relates to the year 1739 when the wakīl Kirpa Ram was representing his master at the imperial army. Iqbālnāma, p.68.

Hereditary nature of the Office

The office of wakīl tended to run in a particular family.[1] In 1715, the wakīl informed Mahārāja (Jaisingh - Sawai) while pleading his case that the office of wakīl of Bundi has been in his family from four or five generation.[2]

The succession to the office was considerably spontaneous. Hence Parikshat Rai succeeded his father Kesho Rai at a very tender age, Kesho Rai as will be seen in the subsequent discussion did not have a very sound career.[3] We even find close relatives like sons-in-law and brothers obtaining the offices of the current incumbent.[4]

The same person could be the wakīl of more than one master. This may be seen from a wakīl's report of 1715, in which the wakīl reminds the Mahārāja that "when he (the Mahārāja) and Ajit Singh had camped at Pohkar the Maharaja

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1. WR Phālgun Sudi, 12, 1767/23 March 1710
2. WR Sāwan Sudi 11, 1772/13 Aug.1715.
3. WR Phālgun Vadi, 7, 1761/7 March 1705, also see supra for the case of Kesho Rai.
4. Panchauli Jagjiwandas whose brother Meghraj was serving the Mahārāja as wakīl seemed the wakālat see WR, Sāwan Vadi 5, 1762/20 Aug 1705. Similarly, Jagjiwandas pleaded to the Maharaja to appoint his son in law Ghan Ram who was already serving the Prince of Amber. WR Baisākh Vadi, 13, 1768/21 April 1711.

had asked him (wakīl) that "you have already got my (Mahārāja's) and Ajit Singh's wakālat, why do you not take the wakālat of the Rāna also. Then at one side will be your Mahārāja and on the other Ajit Singh, in the middle there will be Rāna. Accordingly I got the latter's wakālat. now that matters of Bundi have settled,"[1] I am hopeful to become the wakīl of Bundi as well."[2] The succeeding chapter will reveal that these Rājas were not always on good terms it would have therefore been remarkable on the part of the wakīl to keep all the masters satisfied without inviting suspicion.

The wakīls could be recalled to serve in other bureaucratic positions under the Maharaja at the watan or any other pargana in jāgīr, from the arhsattas of pargana Chatsu, it is evident that Megh Raj a wakīl of Amber stationed at the imperial court served from 1711 to 1716 as 'āmil and in 1715 as amīn of Chatsu. During this period he is naturally not found despatching any reports to the Mahārāja from the Imperial court.

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1. Budh Singh was reinstated at his watan jāgīr Bundi, WR dated Bhādya Sudi 12, 1772/13 Sept.1715.

2. WR dtd Baisākh Sudi, 1, 1772/7th May 1715

Caste:

The wakils of Amber known to us are Mirza Anwar, Raghunath (1639) Kesho Das (1641), Roopchand (1675), Kanwal Nain (1681), Udai Rai (1685) Kesho Rai (1689), Megh Raj (1692) Sad Ram (1696), Parikshit Rai (1705), Jagjiwan Das (1711), Jag Ram, Kirpa Ram Maya Ram and Keshav Das (1717).[1] Among these except for Mirza Anwar, all belonged to Kaiyastha caste. The family of Jagjiwan Das, which dominated the wakalat for several generations was that of Panchauli Sept, of the Kayasthas.[2]

The duration for which the above mentioned wakils officiated is difficult to demarcate since at least two of these officiated simultaneously, often the arzdashts bear the name of both the wakils.[3]

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1. See Wakils Reports for different years.

2. WR dated Sawan Vadi 11, 1772/13 Aug.1715. For the Panchauli Sept, see W. Crooke, The tribes and Castes of the north-Western India, Vol.3, Delhi 1975, p.191.

3. WR Asoj Vadi 11, 1698/20 Sept. 1641. The arzdasht is written by both Raghunath and Kesho Das also Magh vadi 15, 1698/22 Nov.1641 etc. The exact months of their tenure, however, is not mentioned.

Remuneration:

The wakil of Amber received a salary of Rs. 2000/- annually[1] besides the provision of Rs. 6000/- for monthly expenditure at the Imperial court.[2] For the latter amount he was expected to send full details of disbursement.[3]

Status:

The wakil had a high enough status to keep, almost that of a noble.[4] The wakils demanded favours like the title of Rai, elephants, tamba pattar (copper plate grant) village, haveli (house) and orchard in Amber.[5] Besides this, they were allowed to use palanguins by the Emperor.[6]

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1. WR dated Miti Phalgun Sudi 12, 1767/ 23 March 1710. In the descriptive list of wakil reports published from Bikaner in 1967 no.630/1014 Persian wakils report of Megh Raj is listed in which he thanks the Maharaja for increasing his salary to Rs.4000/- per month. The last seems to be an error for per annum we have evidence indicating wakil Gulab Chand's salary amounting to Rs.6000/- annually Arzdasht Sawan vadi 3, 1768/22 June 1711. This pay scale is not found repeated subsequently.

2. WR 25 Shawaal 1118/19 Jan 1707

3. WR 21 Shaban 1103/26 April 1692 also WR 17 Zialqad 1116/7 Feb 1707.

4. WR dtd Phalgun Sudi 12, 1767/23 March 1710 also WR dtd Phalgun Sudi 2, 1767/13 March 1710.

5. WR dtd Magh Vadi 4, 1770/23 Dec 1713.

6. WR dtd Baisakh Sudi 1, 1772/7 May 1715

Their status can also be determined from the expenditure incurred in marriages. The wakīls married their children with great pomp as may be discerned from following description, Previously Rāja Udot Singh had arranged for the marriage of my daughter in Kheina and had given her Rs. 50,000. For the second daughter, Pratap Singh the brother of Raja (Udot Singh) gave 20,000.[1]

It is noteworthy that such an important official had occasions to complain against delayed payment by the Mahārāja. A report of 1710 says that "the wakīl from Man Singh time till this date had lived like nobles. It is only I, who is left in such a monetary strain.[2]

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1. WR dtd Paush Sudi 6, 1769/24 Jan 1712

2. Again in 1715, "your majesty fourteen months back, I had sought Rs.8000/- from you. At the time of the marriage of my brother also, I did not receive anything from the state, so I borrowed the amount for the marriage. The Emperor has gone to Lahore and I do not have any means of getting the money. The expenses are enormous. The bōhra is pressing me hard for repaying the money. I am waiting for the previous amount of salary to be paid to me.

   If not then the revenue of a few villages in pargana Baswa and Chātsu may be granted to me out of your jāgīrs" WR Phālgun Sudi 1767/23 March 1710.

Responsible to Emperor as well as the Maharaja:

The *wakīl* was answerable for his actions to the Mahārāja as well as the Emperor. The Emperor at times handed such cases as that of embezzlement by a *wakīl* to the Mahārāja,[1] who in turn was not very lenient since Kesho Rāi is reported to have attempted suicide for fear of a strict decision.[2] In another instance, we find the Emperor dismissing the *wakīl* without referring the matter to the Mahārāja.[3]

Nature of duty:

The *wakīls* were expected to represent the interest of their employees at the court such as by exploring possibilities for securing *mansab*, *izāfa*, *jāgīr*, *ijāra*,[4] *in'ām*, *sūbadārī* or *faujdārī*. They were to safeguard their interest against their opponents plead for their masters in case of alleged irregularities committed by them and to justify their masters conduct in every fashion.

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1. *WR* dtd *Zi'alqād* 27, 1103/31 July 1692

2. *WR* 117/540 undated

3. *WR Phālgun vadi* 7, 1761/7 March 1707

4. For details regarding the conscious efforts of the *wakīl* in such matters see *infra* Chapter I.

Regarding the specific duties of a wakīl, Jagjiwan Das, writes in an arzdāsht that the wakīl should be in the imperial court, and collect news from the nobles, who attend the court and also from the diwān of Kachehri, the wāqi'a navīs, and the khufia navīs and should attend every session of the darbār.[1]

He was also expected to accompany the Imperial army.[2] Among other things, he was to urge the Imperial chancery to use all the titles assigned to his Mahārāja.[3]

To accomplish his duties, the wakīl had to maintain regular correspondence with this employer. The detailed correspondence can be classified as follows.

The wakīl dispatched akhbārāt (news bulletin). These were copied out from the akhbārāt-i-darbār-i-mu'allā, which included every request publicly made, every order issued by

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1. WR dtd Baisākh Vadi 12, 1771/30 March 1714.

2. The WR are replete with references to either instructions of officials directing to accompany the Imperial army (WR Māngsir Vadi 1, 1769) 3 Nov 1712 or information of important events being despatched by the wakīl to the Rāja WR dtd Phālgun Sudi 1, 1768/23 Feb 1711, Phālgun Sudi 10, 1768/7 April 1712, Chaitra Vadi 9, 1769/16 April 1712 etc.

3. WR Baisākh 12, 1770/23 April 1713.

the Emperor and all enquiries made, such documents cover the period from 1676 to 1730.

The other category comprises the siyāhs and yaddāshts, which bear the name of the wakīl, one such siyah reports the increase in Mansab and Jāgīr of Bishan Singh.[1] Yaddāsht too record the assignments along with the name of mahāls.[2]

Finally there are the wakīl reports which are in themselves a mine of information considering the fact that they are consolidated information which has otherwise to be gleaned from Akhbārāt farmāns, parwānas, Yaddāshts, iltimās, siyāhas Muchalka, mahzar, nishāns and hasbul hukum.

These reports contain much information of historical importance. Significant light is shed on the appointments of nobles to various posts and increase in their mansab. Apart from which serious reflections on the accumulation of arrears of nobles in the year 1714 is recorded.[3] Similarly the lack of concern on the part of the Emperor towards the administration is comprehensively brought out in

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1. Siyah 5 Jamādi 1101/15 Feb 1690 R.S.A.
2. Yaddāsht 1106-7/1695-6, R.S.A.
3. WR Chaitra sudi 2, 1771/17 March 1714

these day to day records.[1] War of succession, hundis, are among some other subjects of interest in these reports.

Wakil's contacts

The wakil maintained contacts with nobles due to the complexity in the nature of their service we find him informing" I go to the prince daily to wish him and he thinking that I am your servant honours me ______".

Mirza Sadruddin, Mohammad Khan, Bakhshiul Mulk have agreed to favour, whenever any request is made through them to the Emperor".[2]

"At present Khwaja Mahram Khan, Hafiz Anwar and Masud are closer to the Emperor. I always attend them that is why they are happy and they have invited any request from you.[3]

Prince Qaimbaksh conferred mansab of 300, I could not accept the offer because I would not have been able to serve you".

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1. WR Baisākh vadi 13, 1768/21 April 1711
2. WR Phālgun vadi 7, 1761/21 Feb 1704
3. Ibid

Representation of Imperial viewpoint

Being at the court he tended to see many things from the point of view of the Imperial Court thus we find him insisting during the war of succession that Mahārāja should come to the court and leave Ajit Singh alone[1], or again cautioning the Mahārāja against appropriation of revenue from the smaller jāgīrdār and zamīndārs.[2]

Role:

From the above discussion it may be discerned that wakīl was an important official who acted as a communication channel between the Mahārāja and the Emperor as well as the Mahārāja and other nobles. It would not be out of place to cite instances revealing his instrumentality in gaining favours. Kanwal Nain in 1681, requested the Emperor through Umdat ul Mulk to grant the title of Mahārāja to his master as well as for addition of Chatsu and Kehrauli to his jāgīr and the responsibility of guarding Khyber and Jamrud.[3]

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1. WR Phālgun Sudi 12, 1769/9 March 1712.

2. WR dtd Asārh Vadi 5, 1769/9 June 1713; WR dtd Paush Vadi 12, 1771/6 Jan 1714; WR dtd Asārh Vadi 17, 1771/2nd July 1714; WR dtd Asoj Sudi 10, 1771/21 Oct. 1714.

3. WR dtd Shawaāl 3, 1092/6 Oct. 1681

Bhagwandas in the same year tried to obtain a jāgīr in Tirhut worth 43,000 dāms for the Mahārāja.[1] In 1688 the watan of Amber and Bahatri amounting to 30,000,00/- dāms was sought in jāgīr; and this was granted by the Emperor.[2] In 1694, Megh Raj applied for the jāgīr of Baswa instead of Malarna since the jama' of latter was inflated. Parikshit Rai obtained jāgīr in Dausa worth 4,15,530 dāms[3] together with the exemption from branding of horses for the Mahāraja.[4]

The office of wakīl gained all the more importance in the last years of Jai Singh Sawai's time due to the prevalent political condition at the Imperial Court which could prove better possibilities to secure favours. The office remained in tact at least till the reign of Jai Singh Sawai[5], subsequent to which our information is lacking.

Diwān:

The diwān was the official responsible for the finances of the Rāja and its remittance to the Imperial

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1. WR dtd Zi'alhaj 22, 1092/23 Dec.1681
2. WR dtd Ramzān 20, 1099/9 July 1688
3. WR dtd. Jamādi 1, 1118/27 Aug.1706.
4. WR dtd Baisākh Sudi 10, 1764/16 May 1707.
5. WR Paush Sudi 1787/Dec 1730 also Iqbalnama op.cit.

treasury.[1] For the purpose he had to be in regular attendance at the court.[2] He accompanied the Imperial army too.[3] Diwān Ram Chandra was killed on such a trip.[4]

Duties:

The Diwān was disbursed the amount incurred at the imperial court[5]. and he handed over the amount required by the wakil and for the rest he was responsible. Among these expenditures were those incurred on nazr,[6] peshkash,[7] payment of dawāb etc. which he paid on behalf of the Raja.

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1. Arzdāsht of Bhikhari Das, Phālgun Vadi 5, 1768/16 Feb 1712.

2. Azdāsht Kārtik Sudi 2, 1768/1 Nov 1711; Arzdāsht Bhikhari Das Asoj Sudi 5, 1768/6 Oct. 1711.

3. Arzdāsht Mangsir vadi 1, 1769/3 Nov.1712, Arzdāsht Sāwan vadi 3, 1168 22 June 1711, Asōj sudi 6, 1768/3 Oct. 1711 etc. WR Phālgun Sudi, 16, 1768/11 March 1712.

4. Arzdāsht of Bhikhari Das, Bhādva Sudi 3, 1768/6 Aug. 1711; Ibid, Māngsir Sudi 8, 1768/6 Dec. 11; Asōj Sudi 15, 1768/15 Oct. 1711.

5. Arzdāsht of Bhikari Das Kārtik Sudi, 2, 1768/1 Nov. 1711, Asōj Sudi 6, 1768/6 Oct.1711

6. Arzdāsht Kārtik Sudi 2, 1768/1 Nov.1711.

7. Arzdāsht Kartik Sudi 2, 1768/1 Nov.1711; Arzdāsht Asārh Sudi 5, 1768/10 June 1711; Arzdāsht Phalgun vadi 12 1767/3 Feb 1711 etc.

He also pleaded the Rāja's case in the presence of the nobles.[1] He gave earnest suggestions to the Rāja.[2]

The diwān maintained regular correspondence with the Rāja[3] and intimated every detail of the court including the attitude and manipulations of the nobles,[4] and the attempts of wakīl and himself in expediting such matters.[5] His arzdāshts are often a duplication of the wakīl reports.[6]

At least two diwāns officiated simultaneously.[7] Though their jurisdiction were not demarcated they worked in full

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1. Ibid; Arzdāsht Bhādva Sudi 3, 1768/6 Aug 1711; Ibid, Sāwan Vadi 13, 1768/2 July 1711.

2. Ibid Phālgun vadi 12, 1767/3 Feb 1711 etc.

3. See arzdāshts of the diwāns addressed to Jai Singh, R.S.A. Bikaner.

4. Arzdasht Bhādva Sudi, 14, 1768/14 Sept. 1711; Asoj Sudi 6, 1768/6 Oct. 1711; Māgh Sudi 1, 1768/27 Jan 1712.

5. Arzdasht, Asoj Vadi 7, 1768/23 Sept. 1711; Māgh Sudi 9, 1768/5 Feb 1712; Kārtik Sudi 13, 1769/31 Oct. 1712.

6. Arzdasht Phālgun Sudi 2, 1768/27 Feb 1712; WR dtd Phālgun Sudi 10, 1768/5 March 1712; numerous such examples can be cited from a perusal of wakīl's report and the arzdāshts of the diwān.

7. See arzdāshts of the diwāns op.cit.

cooperation.[1] Both maintained correspondence[2] with the Rāja and received separate parwānas.[3] The diwānship of Ajit Singh was held at the sametime. The position of diwān in such a condition could be vulnerable. The wakīl complained once that diwān Bhandari Das was being partial towards Ajit Singh and was receiving enhancement in mansab of Ajit Singh and his son alongwith such important post as the Subahdāri of Gujarat.[4] The Rāja gave serious consideration to this problem, fortunately enough the other diwan had nothing to say against diwān Bhandari Das.[5]

Our information lacks on the salary of the diwān though we have evidence to the fact that he was subassigned jāgīr from Rāja's own jāgīr.[6]

The diwān enjoyed a fairly respectable position at the Imperial Court and due weightage was given to his pleadings.

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1. Arzdāsht, Phālgun Vadi 5, 1768/16 Feb 1712; Mangsir Vadi 11, 1769/13 Nov.1712 etc.

2. Arzdāsht, Bhādva Sudi, 3, 1768/6 Aug 1711; Asoj Sudi 15, 1768/15 Oct. 1711 etc.

3. Arzdāsht, Bhādva Sudi, 3, 1768/6 Aug 1711; Asoj Sudi 15, 1768/15 Oct.1711 etc.

4. WR dtd Māngsir Vadi 9, 1769/11 Nov. 1712.

5. Arzdāsht Māngsir Vadi, 11, 1769/13 Nov. 1712.

6. Arzdāsht Phālgun Sudi 12, 1767/19 Feb.1711.

He was bestowed favours too from the Imperial Court. Diwan Bhandari received sculpture of tiger and diwān Bhikhari Das was given dhukdhuki.[1]

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1. Arzdāsht Māngsir Vadi 5, 1769/7 Nov. 1712.

CHAPTER-5

RELATIONS OF THE RĀJA OF AMBER WITH THE EMPEROR

It has hitherto been stated that the Mughal Emperor was the paramount power so far as his relations with the chiefs were concerned.[1] It would appear that they were dependent solely upon the goodwill of the Emperor and not on their inherent rights. In our study of the relations of the Amber Rāja with the Emperor, a perusal is made, of the spheres, in which paramaountcy was exercised the extent to which it stretched. Whether or not the passage of time could alter its intensity.

I

Since the time of Akbar, Mughals asserted right on their nobles to present themselves in the court wherever their services were required. In no case, this condition was relaxed. We know one of the factors regarding the failure of the negotiations with Mahārāna Pratap was that the latter requested exemption to personal homage at the Mughal Court which was not acceptable to Akbar. This practice continued till our period as we find in a wakīl report by Jagjiwan Das addressed to Mahārāja Jai Singh

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1. S. Nurul Hasan, 'Zamindars under the Mughal's Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History ed. Robert Frykenberg, 1969.

requesting the Mahārāja to reach the court as desired by the Emperor and to leave Ajit Singh in case he delays because the latter ancestors acted in a similar manner unlike Mahārāja's ancestors who were always present in Emperors service .[1]

Another instance is reflected in wakīl report wherein it is stated that the wakīl submitted to the Nawab that except for the physical presence of the Mahārāja all the conditions are accepted and that sūbedārī of Malwa and Gujarat be granted to Jai Singh and Ajit Singh respectively without attending the court as it was done by Emperor Aurangzeb in case of Jaswant Singh.[2] The plea was however turned down.

The Amber chiefs in the earlier phase were not important from the point of view of their territorial resources. But they were important keeping in view their clan (ulūs) based organization with a chain of local potentates. The Kachhawahas being the territorial chief and the head of their clan had exercised 'sovereign rights' therefore occupied considerable importance in the Mughal polity. Though the Amber house developed its economic

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1. WR dtd miti Phāgun Sudi 12 V.S. 1767/2 March 1710.
2. WR dtd Kārtik Vadi 4, 1769/7 Oct. 1712.

resources only after the submission to the Mughals; their clan affiliation were always valued by the Mughal Emperors. With the passage of time they were not treated by the Mughal court as ordinary *zamindars*. It would also not be out of context here to recall that Kachhawahas were one of the largest beneficiaries so far as *mansabas* and *jagirs* are concerned. In return, these chiefs, who had a clan following and could muster a larger army proved their worth and sincerity to the Mughal Emperors. The Emperor was at times so pleased with them, that, they were entrusted with important administrative assignments and they served at Akbarabad (Agra) *Jahanabad* (Delhi), Sri Muttra Ji (Mathura) and so on in different capacities.

The term *zamindars* was used in all official papers, it has, however, been noted in the case of Amber that the correspondence between the chiefs invariably refers to their states as *desh* or *raj* nor does the term *zamindar* ever occur in their records in reference to one another. Thus it is felt the usage of such terms as *watan* and *zamindar* does not reflect the true position of the Amber rulers.[1] Though the above mentioned correspondence, namely, *Khutoot Ahalkaran*

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1. V.S. Bhatnagar, *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, 1988-1743*, pp. 270-271, Impex India, 1974.

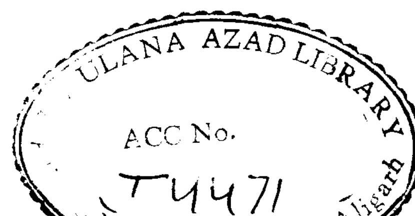
do not refer to watan and zamīndār, but, all petitions and memorandum addressed to the Emperor have references to the above terms.[1] The two kind of correspondence, therefore, should not be treated in isolation.

The Emperor is said to have played an essential role in the succession (tīka) of the chiefs to the throne. While, we are on the one hand acquainted with the assertion of this imperial prerogative as early as Jahangir's reign in the case of Bikaner and Maha Singh of Amber;[2] on the other hand, there are scholars who tend to believe that the Emperor's right was of confirmatory rather than discretionary nature.[3]

In the above perspective, the period which followed the battle of Jajau, whereby, the watan of Amber was confiscated to khālisa and later conferred on Vijay Singh seems to be of much relevance.[4] Herein the intention of the Emperor to exercise greater control in Amber is gleaned. As the events proved, the Rāja wielded considerable power to

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1. See Arzdāshts, Yaddāshts etc. R.S.A.
2. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīri, pp. 106, 130.
3. Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, op.cit., pp. 280-281.
4. Bahādur Shah Nāma, pp. 254, 279, 288.


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resist the Emperor's authority.[1] A reflection of which was found in the killing of Saiyid Hussain Khan and the subsequent plunder.[2] The Rāja could mobilize a sizeable section of the nobility in a favourable disposition.[3] Restoration of watan and grant of an audience with the Emperor followed.[4]

It was also the imperial privilege to assign jagirs, wherever, the Emperor intended to. Territories as close to Amber as Chatsu and Manoharpur were in imperial khālisa.[5] It has also been convincingly argued that the territories assigned were not in entirety. In fact, other nobles were assigned the same pargana while a portion was retained in khālisa.[6] The ijāras were similarly given on short term

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1. Jai Singh in fact tried to display his military strength to the Emperor while he intended to visit Amber. Instructions were issued to subassignees to collect impressive troops of Rajawat, Shekhawat, Naruka etc. for the purpose. See Parwāna, Māngsir Vadi 2, V.S. 1764/31 Oct.

2. Bahādur Shah Nāma, ff. 421-58; also Vir Vinod vol. II, pp. 772-82.

3. See supra Chapter VI also Vir Vinod, pp. 781-84.

4. Khafi Khan, Muntakhābm-ul lubab, Vol.VII, p.420.

5. Arzdāsht addressed to Bishan Singh V.S. 1750/1693.

6. For tabulation of these assignments see Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan, pp. 8-9.

leases. All this was due, in the main, to curtail the control of the Rāja over a larger principality.

Notwithstanding the above attempts as we have seen in an earlier chapter, the Rāja resorted to other measures to achieve greater control.[1]

The posts of sūbedāri, faujdāri etc. depended solely on the will of the Emperor. The faujdāri of jat mahāls along with jāgīrdāri was imposed upon the Rāja at a time when he had least the intention of availing it.[2] The Rāja subsequently parcelled out the pargana to the village headmen who were the local potentates.[3]

At a time, when the Rāja was desirous for the sūbedāri of Malwa, the petition was delayed due to the fact that Ajit Singh coveted sūbedāri of Gujarat and the two Rajput Rājas in a close neighbourhood could be a source of anxiety for the Emperor. As late a s 1713, the Rājas were appointed to the said sūbedāris.[4] In the later years, the Rāja could

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1. See infra Ch. II.

2. WR dtd 7 Jamādi II 1105/24 Jan. 1694.

3. Jamābandi record 1101-2/1694 also 'Revenue farmers and zamīndārs in pargana Kol 1694'.

4. Tazkirāt-us-Salatīn-i-Chaghta, pp.

avail even more such posts.[1]

It is noteworthy that Emperor could mediate in the administration of the Rājas watan or tankhwa jāgīr. Testimony to which is found in the regulations and reprimands against levying of pēshkash, nazrāna and farmāish.[2] also against the consumption of Sambhar salt.[3] How far these effected the Rāja unfortunately, is not found in our evidence.

The hierarchy of officials such as the Khufia navīs, wāqīa navīs and the like penetrated the administrative set up of the Rāja and provided every detail at the court. These officials too were bribed by the Rāja so much so that trivial matters were inflated to desirable extent.[4]

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1. Farmān dtd. 3 Rabi I 1124/10 April 1712, also Kapat dwara Documents.

2. Parwāna 19 Jamādi II 1133/6 April 1721.

3. Farmān 5 Shawaāl 1053/7 Dec. 1643; letter of Amirul Umara to the Rāja dtd 28 Zi'alqād 1114/15 April 1703.

4. WR undated from Jagjiwan Das to Jai Singh reporting "It is the tradition of the court that whenever one does even a trivial job it should be well presented so that it may be rewarded. If the information of the seige of Rajgarh would have reached the Imperial court through the waqi'a navīs, Khufia navīs, harkarās and their petitions of diwān and bakhshi of the sūba followed by your own arzdāsht the importance of the event would have increased".

Reimposition of jaziya was yet another interesting instance which reflected the alterations in the Imperial attitude.[1] Jaziya yielded a handsome amount of four crore rupees.[2] It has been noted that while Farrukh Siyar wrote to Jai Singh that "Inayatullah Khan had placed a letter from the Sherrif of Mecca that the collection of Jaziya is obligatory according to shara. in a matter of faith, I am helpless" while in actual fact through Inayatullah Khan orthodox element was mobilized.[3] Irrespective of the margin of exaggeration to Shiv Das, Jai Singh played an extremely important role to plead for the abolition of jaziya[4] It was subsequently abolished by Muhammad Shah.[5]

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1. Nishān to Mahārāna Jai Singh, 1690; Yaddasht (Vir Vinod III, p. 750). Even the Maharana of Udaipur was not exempted from Jiziah. A fixed amount of Rs. 100000/- was fixed upon the Maharana. In lieu of which parganas Badnor, Mandalgarh and Pur were assigned to him. For details see Vir Vinod pp. 670, 750. Also see Farmān of Aurangzeb, where it is refused that the Mahārana had rupees one lac as jiziah every year and for that he will have to produce the surety (mal-i-zāmin). However, he could pay it in four instalment and deposit it in the treasury at Ajmer.

2. Shahnāma, 112-115.

3. Satish Chandra, 'Jaziya in the post-Aurangzeb period', P.I.H.C., 1946.

4. Shahnāma, op.cit., 112-115.

5. Muntakhāb-ul-lubāb, p. 947.

From a perusal of the above details, it would appear that the Emperor tried to implement the theoretical control he exercised over the Amber Rāja.[1] Nevertheless, it is also essential to study how such attempts were received not only by the concerned Rāja but an influential part of the nobility as well, the latter being perused in a subsequent chapter. The need it seems was being felt for accommodation and expediency on the part of the Emperor where such important noble as the Rāja of Amber was concerned. Also, in the perspective of the fluid condition of Imperial court, support of Amber Rāja could not be conveniently dispensed with. So far as the attitudes of the Amber Rāja was concerned, he was well aware of the privileged position he enjoyed. He, too, it is notable, inspite of his status, wanted to adapt into the situation which was contrary to the intention of shaking the yoke of the Empire.

II

The significance of pēshkash lies in the fact that it was offered by a subordinate to a superior as a mark of submission. This was paid in cash or kind[2] though cash

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1. See WR dtd 26 Jamādi II 1104/4 March 1692

2. The pēshkash offered in kind included the products manufactured from the Rāja's kārkhānās. See Kārkhāna papers, R.S.A.

offerings were also at times termed nazr which was of a nominal nature and offered at 1) the accession of the Rāja 2) festive occasions at the court, birth anniversary, nauroz, accession of the Emperor, Idd etc.[1] 3) whenever, a messenger or representative or the Rāja presented himself at the imperial court[2] 4) before or after gaining victory in some battle, the Rāja had participated. Sometimes we get similarities in the nature of nazr and pēshkash.[3]

The amount of pēshkash was determined by the imperial court, against a particular pargana assigned in a jāgīr[4] and the amount of pēshkash was not a matter of choice on the Rāja's part.

In extraordinary circumstances the pēshkash due to the

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1. WR dtd Baisākh Sudi 4, 1771/18 April 1714

2. WR dtd Chaitra Vadi 9, 1769/16 April 1712. also WR Phālgun Sudi 2, 1769/16 March 1713.

3. For the distinction between pēshkash and Nazr. See M. Athar Ali, 'The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb', p.144. Also see WR dtd Kārtik Sudi 6, 1768/2 Nov. 1711 wherein it is stated that Shah Qudratullah informed (diwān) Bhandari that one lakh rupees each should be sent from both the Rājas (Jai Singh and Ajit Singh) as nazr, out of which sixty thousand rupees each will be accepted as the peshkash of the Emperor and remaining forty thousand rupees as nazr to Prince (Saheb-i Ālam).

4. Farmān dtd.

Rāja against a particular pargana was remitted as in the case of pargana Mauzabad in 1717.[1] Mention may be made to a likhtang which states, if famine occurs and a remission is made by the Emperor, a proportionate reduction will be made (from the ijāra amount)'.[2]

It would thus seem inferable that the Raja collected pēshkash from the jāgīrdārs (sub-assignees) as well as the ijāradārs which was recorded for the convenience of the state and in turn submitted to the Imperial court.

How the amount of pēshkash was determined by the imperial court is not clear from our evidence? It had some relationship with the resources at the disposal of the Rāja. Despite the fact that jama' figures were extant to the Mughals, they did not fix a regular percentage of peshkash. The reason probably lies in the fluctuating resources of the chief.

Taking our internal evidence, as the index to determine the relationship between jama' and hāsil referred to in our documents as tan and hāsil it can be deduced that the hāsil in proportion to tan did not exceed to one fourth.

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1. Ibid.

2. Likhtang dtd Kārtik Sudi 3, V.S. 1789, by Sardul Singh Shekhāwat.

It is, therefore, probably apparent that tan also includes the amount of peshkash.

Pēshkash was offered for the grant of faujdāri, sūbedāri etc. It is interesting to find that the, pēshkash of these varied from region to region. Thus a wakīl's report reads 'I have conveyed your demands to Amirul Umara. He has demanded money. Write to me the demand, you wish to present... If the mansab of 7000/7000 is conferred then only we can pay whatever he wishes, whereas for the faujdāri of Mathura send any amount you wish. Though the assignment of parganas Tonk, Deoti Sanchari, Malpura or Khohri would he preferrable. You therefore kindly keep these points in view and reply'.[1]

The nature of information contained in arhsatta reveals that the amount of muqarara jama' and halsal are divided in a number of cesses and perquisites which includes pēshkash too.[2] We also find references to pēshkash being collected from the sub-assignees and sub-leasees of the Rāja. The awārija documents shed light on the amount of

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1. WR dtd Jyēstha Vadi 1 VS. 1768/18 May, 1711; Also see WR dtd Baisākh Vadi 13, 1768/21 April, 1711.

2. See Arhsattas for the list of pēshkash payees which includes Patwāri, Patēl etc.

peshkash fixed against a person belonging to the given clan alongwith the proportion of peshkash submitted.[1] The proportion of the amount of peshkash which remained with the Raja and the Emperor, however, can only be conjectured upon.

A few illustration would be relevant to show that the demand of peshkash was invariably made directly or indirectly at the time of assignment of jāgir. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the value of peshkash was a strong determining factor for the desired assignment.

We come across a reference of 1704, wherein the Mahārāja informs the Shahzada that he would pay Rs.20,000 to him as peshkash on receipt of sanad for the grant of nakkārah and the parganas of Dausa, Chatsu and Mauzabad in jāgir.[2] We then substantiate this information with wakil report of 1714, where the previous jama' of parganas Dausa and Chatsu is mentioned as 61,57,000 and 68,43,000 dams respectively.[3] Converting these into rupees we get the amount of Rs.32,50,000. To this, we shall add the jama figure of pargana Mauzabad available to us from another

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1. Awārija Mutāliba pargana Bahatri.
2. Miscellaneous pargana papers dtd 1116/1704.
3. WR dtd Māgh Vadi 7, V.S. 1770/23 Jan 1779

wakil report of 1695, which amounts to Rs.1,60,000.[1] From the above total, if we take out the percentage of peshkash, we arrive at 4%.

Another example of Udai Singh Shekhawat who has to pay a sum of Rs.50,000 as peshkash in 1712, if a mansab of 1500/1000 and parganas of Khandela and Rewasa are granted in jāgīr.[2] Similarly, we have on other illustration from a farmān regarding the grant of Bundi and 5000 mansab (with 5000/2500) on the condition of paying peshkash of Rs.5,00,000 to Budh Singh. It is also mentioned that one lakh is to be paid in cash and the rest in instalments[3] but the absence of extant of jama' figures of the above parganas hinders us to calculate the percentage of peshkash in the above instances.

The fact, that the Emperor had the knowledge of the collection of peshkash and other cesses and it had not only imperial sanction, but also accountable to the Imperial court is illustrated by the following document "since the Mahārāja has been appointed subedār of Malwa by the Emperor,

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1. WR dtd 19 Ramzān 1106/3 May, 1695.

2. WR dtd Chaitra Sudi 11, 1769/6 April 1712.

3. Farmān Persian Emperor Jahan Shah to Dalel Singh S/o of Salim Singh Hada undtd, Kapat dwara, op.cit.

it has been settled ... peshkash and other revenue realised from the suba shall be divided between diwān (of Raja Ayamal) and the Maharaja as one share will go to the diwan and two to the Mahārāja. The income from the villages taken on lease shall also be divided accordingly.... If the Deccanis do not settle peace with the Emperor the expenditure on encounter with them shall be met from the joint income and the rest shall be divided in the above ratio".[1]

The payment of peshkash in advance was much in vogue and that too in lump sum. The annual payment of peshkash could pose certain problems in the event of frequency in transfer of jāgīrs.

On the pattern of Mughals the Rāja fixed lump sum amount at the time of appointing patels, patwaris, amīn and 'āmil. But the amount of peshkash in such case was irrespective of the jama' figures, entirely depended upon the wishes of the Rāja.

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1. Naqal Kāgad hindawi Rāja Ayamal under orders to Sawai Jai Singh to Nagaroj Dhoubhai Asoj Vadi 13, 1789/6 Sept 1732, Kapat dwara, op.cit.

CHAPTER-6

RELATIONS WITH THE NOBLES OF THE IMPERIAL COURT

The parties and politics operating at the Mughal court and the role of different sections of the nobility in our period has been exhaustively gauged.[1] The present chapter, therefore, restricts to shed light only on the development of Jai Singh Sawai's attitude towards the nobles and benefits reaped thereof. The study characterises the relations towards premier nobles; nobles belonging to adjoining ares of Jai Singh's _watan_ and the other major Rajputs Rājas.

It is the setback which followed the participation of Jai Singh after the battle of Jajau which manifested itself in the resumption of Amber to _Khālisa_ and the importance given to Vijay Singh in the context that made Jai Singh aware of the grave difficulties he could face with the uncertain support of the Emperor in the given fluid situation prevalent at the court. In the circumstances Jai Singh's relations with the premier nobles came to occupy crucial importance.

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1. See Satish Chandra, _Parties and Politics_, op.cit. Muzaffar Alam, _The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India, Awadh and the Punjab 1707-1748_, Delhi, 1986.

In the above backdrop, it is deemed essential to delineate the relations of Jai Singh with the premier nobles.

It goes to the credit of Zulfiqar Khan to have adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Rajputs. The fact that in such a policy, he was directed more by compulsion of circumstances to recognize the importance of Rajputs and mobilize them to serve in the hour of need is inexplicable. Given the situation Jai Singh welcomed the overtures.

This policy of Zulfiqar Khan manifested itself in the abolition of jaziya and the concession given in the form of enhancement of mansab and conferment of title to the Mahārāja. Though the confirmation of both these promises could be fulfilled after the death of Zulfiqar Khan, the fact remains, that he took up the Rajput cause. Wakīl reports are replete with the interest shown by Rāja Sabha Chand, the diwān of Zulfiqar in the affairs of Amber.[1]

The Sayyids continued to endorse the trend Zulfiqar Khan had set by confirmation to abolition of jaziya. Moreover, the enhancement of mansab and title were affirmed

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1. WR dtd Jyestha Vadi 1, V.S.1768/18 May 1711; WR dtd Sāwan Vadi 2, 1768/5 Aug 1711 etc.

by them. This was the extent to which the attitude of the Sayyids stretched.

So far as their relations with Jai Singh were concerned the cleave occurred due mainly to the intervention of the Sayyids in the Kotah-Bundi affairs in which Jai Singh had sided Budh Singh his brother in law against Bhim Singh of Kotah. The Sayyids delayed the restoration of the watan of Bundi to Budh Singh which antagonized Jai Singh.

The tacit support of the Sayyids to the jats whetted further annoyance of Jai Singh. The territories of jats and Kachhwahas brushed each other and therefore endangered their territories. The Sayyids tried to appease Jai Singh by bringing Ajit Singh into picture. Jai Singh had open options to accept invitations of Sayyid's opponents but he sided none.

II

Jai Singh Sawai as we have already observed had extensive jāgīrs and manipulated large chunks of ijāra apart from the watan area.[1] His conscious effort to chalk out a

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1. See infra Chap. II.

concrete principality is also not oblivious to us. With the increase in mansab and extension in his assignments, his power and prestige increased constantly.

Interestingly enough, the Rāja was not satisfied with the power and prestige he already wielded, instead, he used it as an asset to assert his strength over the neighbouring jāgīrdārs and ijāradārs partly for the reason that he did not have any other strong jāgīrdār close to his watan.

Thus as early as 1694, we come across complaints regarding the looting of grain worth Rs. 2000 by Jai Singh's several from the jāgīrs of the prince in pargana Anupanagar.[1] Similarly in 1696, the gumāshta of Mahārāja collected mahsūl from the jāgīr of Muhammad Taqi Khan who was assigned 1,20,000 dāms in pargana Chatsu.[2] Such complaints became more numerous in the time of Sawai Jai Singh the gumāshta of Ilkhas Khan the dīwān-i tan complained against Mahārāja's mutasaddis, who collected revenue from the havēli Ajmer.[3] Muhammad, who held jāgīr at Mauzabad amounting to one lakh and many thousand dāms for a

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1. WR 23 Rabi' II, 1105/22 Dec. 1694.
2. Arzdāsht of Bhawani Das to the Mahārāja 1753/1696.
3. WR Asārh Vadi 5, 1769/12 July 1712.

duration of one year was similarly treated by Mahārāja's officials.[1] In 1714, 11,000 dāms from Afzal Khan's jāgīr in pargana Dipalpur were appropriated by Maharaja's officials.[2] In the same pargana from the jāgīr of Hakim ul Mulk, Maharaja's official forcibly collected 7000 dāms.[3] In pargana Taal, he appropriated half the revenue assigned to the grandson of Amirul Umara Zulfiqar Khan as also 2800 dāms from the same pargana which was assigned to Jani Khan's son, the Khānsāma of Jahan Shah were collected by Maharaja's officials.[4]

It would be worthwhile pondering over as to what was the reason of this aggressive attitude. For a specific period as 1707-11, one may take this as a reaction to the confiscation of watan. It may, however, be borne in mind that this attitude continued till the time he established his principality of Jaipur state and his position among the fellow Rajput rājas. This was the process which gained momentum in the later years of Jai Singh Sawai. It is,

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1. Ibid.
2. WR Asārh Sudi 15, 1771/27 June 1714.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

therefore, needful to examine, where this policy of Sawai Jai Singh was aiming at.

In an earlier chapter, we have noticed how zamīndārī areas were converted into watan jāgirs How zamīndārī was acquired when a jāgīr had already been held for a longer period How far for that matter, ijāra were sought in perpetuity So that the claim for jāgīr might be stronger.

In the present context the above mentioned facts are of much relevance in the sense that a closer scrutiny reveals that Muhammad Taqi was being harassed in pargana Chatsu[1] since the pargana was not only a zamīndārī mahāl[2] but was also in the jāgīr of the Rāja and Kunwar and also shared by Taqi Khan. The mahārāja was interested to hold it in entirety (dar-o-bast) as this pargana was only at a distance of 30 Kōs from Jaipur.[3] Such examples can be multiplied.

The jats proved the most formidable rival in the sense that their territories (zamīndārī/jāgīrdārī) brushed each

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1. Arzdashts dtd. 1753/1696 also dtd paush Vadi, 1768/1712 Dec. 1711; Asārh Vadi VS, 1769/16 June 1712 and Sāwan vadi 15, 1769/12 July 1712.

2. Arzdāsht 1756/1699.

3. WR dtd Māgh Vadi 7, 1770/23 Jan 1714.

others. There was a time when, the Raja felt his jāgīr in pargana Deoti Sanchari was endangered due to zamīndāri mahāl of Churaman in pargana Khohri.[1] Consequently, the Rāja swept the zamīndāri rights in his favour leaving Churaman in a similar insecurity.[2] The problem did not end here. The efforts were made to deprive the jats of many important parganas like that of Kaman, Pahari, Khoh etc.[3] Jai Singh Sawai's intention was to push back the jat claims from the areas encompassing the immediate vicinity of his watan. The Rāja took the added precaution not to sub-assign tracts of his own jāgīr to the jats.[4]

Surprisingly enough, we gather from the testimony of the wakīl that complaints against the Mahārāja were reaching to the Emperor.[5] Also at the same time, we find the leading nobles being instrumental in recommending the assignment and leases for Jai Singh Sawai. The Emperor is found complying

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1. WR dtd. Asārh Vadi 7, 1771/4 July 1714; Asoj Vadi 4, 1769/6 Oct 1712.

2. Akhbārāt dtd. 28 Shawwāl 1127/16 Oct 1715; 16 Zi'alqad 1127/2 Nov 1715; 16 Rabi' II 1128/16 March 1717.

3. For details see my article on 'Agrarian Condition of Pargana Kaman' 1768-1775, P.I.H.C., Goa, 1987.

4. Arzdāsht dtd 1784/1727.

5. WR dtd. 11 Shawa'al 1105/5 June 1694; WR dtd 23 Rabi' II 1105/22 Dec 1694 etc.

to such recommendations.[1] His attitude impressing more trust upon Jai Singh Sawai in comparison to the other smaller jāgīrdārs and zamīndārs.

III

The above study wherein we persued the appreciation of Jai Singh by the nobility as a tangible tool in the scheme of events unleashed at the Imperial Court as also the aggressive attitude of Jai Singh towards the nobles in the immediate vicinity of Amber leads one to speculate the reason as to why he was deemed so important. True, that he was an important noble belonging to the highest rank of nobility, but so was Ajit Singh. A close analysis of the relations with the major Rajput Rājas might be self illuminating.

The period which followed the death of Aurangzeb was crucial for Rajputana due mainly to the resumption of watan jāgīrs of Jai Singh and Ajit Singh.[2] The vital role that Rāna played in the negotiations and conciliations is notorious enough.[3]

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1. WR dtd 11 Shawwāl 1106/25 May 1695; dtd Phālgun Vadi 7, 1761/7 March 1705; WR dtd. Sāwan Vadi 2, 1768/5 Aug 1711; WR dtd. Kārtik Sudi 1, V.S. 1768/28 Oct 1711.

2. For details see supra.

3. See arzdāsht of Ghaziuddin Khan's munshi to Jai Singh Asoj Vadi 13, V.S. 1764/12 Sept. 1707; Vir Vinod p.781-784.

Though the proposal that the Rāna be made the Emperor of Hindustan after ejecting the Mughals is recorded[1], it would suffice our purpose to presume that a platform had been founded which had woven the Rajput interest in quite an exceptional manner.[2] A clear manifestation of this was the adamance for complete restoration of their jāgīrs and posting in adjacent provinces.[3]

The circumstances whereupon the Rāna receded into oblivion and Ajit Singh was murdered brought Jai Singh inevitably to the fore providing thereby to the Imperial Court a representative of the Rajputs.

The process, it is noteworthy was by no means devoid of complexity, since Jai Singh had earned this through mediating and maintaining tremendous rapport with the other Rajputs and benefitting from the dissensions that had cropped up within the Rajputs.

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1. Vir Vinod Vol. II, p. 767.

2. Letter of Mahārāna Amar Singh to Jai Singh Paush Vadi 3, 1766/8 Dec. 1709.

3. Tazkirāh-i-Mubāraki p. 59 also WR. dtd. Sāwan Vadi 2, 1768/5 Aug. 1711; WR dtd. Kārtik Sudi 1, 1768/28 Oct. 1711.

Jai Singh's relations with Marwar were fairly cordial. The reflection of the deep understanding is reflected not only in the united stand they took to recover their watan but also in the reservation to entertain the invitations extended by the nobles to attend on the Emperor.[1]

The breach of understanding occurred when Ajit Singh decided to support Sayyids contrary to Jai Singh's resistance. A direct confrontation was provided by Jai Singh's attempt to support Neku Syar's claim to the throne in league with Rāna Sangram Singh and Chabela Ram.[2] The

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1. WR reporoting that Khan-i Khanan has been informed about the arrival of Mahārāja and Ajit Singh. Requests to leave Ajit Singh if he delays because the latter's ancestors had acted always in a similar manner unlike Mahārāja's ancestors who were always in the Emperor's service dtd Phālgun Sudi 12, Mon V.S. 1767/2 March 1710; also W.R. "Ajit Singh is safe since he is away while you are only 80 kōs away from Jahanabad. You are staking your watan without reason. Nawab Amirul Umara says that "Rāja Ram Singh and Nawab Asafuddaula had become brothers by exchanging turbans and I (Amirul Umara) and Kunwar Kishan Singh had also become brothers. You have been granted mansab and title keeping the above in view. You are considered the grandson even then you do not stop non cooperative activities. You should fulfil your ancestor's wish" dtd Sāwan Vadi 2 V.S. 1768/5 Aug 1711.

2. Bālmukund Nāma (a collection of letters and orders written on behalf of Sayyid Abdullah KHan by Munshi Balmukund) tr Satish Chandra as Letters of a King maker of the 18th Century Delhi, 1972. Addendum no.1.

Sayyids foiled tactfully the above plan.[1] Jai Singh maintained consistent unoffensive contacts with Ajit Singh after the deposition of Sayyids.

Following the death of Ajit Singh he had diplomatic relations with Abhai Singh and Bakht Singh, sons of Ajit Singh. However there occurred a clash between Jai Singh and Bakht Singh due to Jai Singh's involvement in Jodhpur, the former became victorious[2] easing the situation more in the interest of Jai Singh.

Jai Singh's relations with Bundi were slightly in variance to that of Marwar since Budh Singh had taken the side of Bahadur Shah.[3] He was therefore fortunate enough to relish the royal favours.[4] Irrespective of the above differences in their policy they had considerable of good diplomatic as well as family relationship, Budh Singh being the brother in law of Jai Singh.[5]

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1. Ibid No.24, p.90.
2. Vir Vinod, p. 848.
3. Iradat Khan, Tazkirā tr. Vol. II, pt. 4, pp. 31-36.
4. For details, see Parties and Politics pp. 122-123.
5. Vir Vinod Vol. I, pp. 114-116.

It was at the setback which was provided by the confiscation of the watan Bundi that Budh Singh was placed in an unfavourable disposition of the Imperial Court. On the testimony of wakīl reports we learn that Jai Singh was extremely instrumental in the restoration of Bundi.[1] Not only at this time but later too Jai Singh recovered Bundi for Budh Singh. The relations, however, in the meantime became strained between the two Rājas eversince the clash occurred between Budh Singh and his wife over succession of their son.[2]

The relations were regenerated when Dalel Singh another son of Budh Singh was married to Jai Singh's daughter and Budh Singh died. Jai Singh requested honours from the Imperial court at the birth of his grandson from the above wedlock.[3] Dalel Singh continued to pay strong allegiance to Jai Singh.

Readable from our framework seems the fact that Jai Singh was not only able to secure benefits from the individual nobles but also made an important usage of

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1. WR dtd Baisākh Sudi, I, V.S. 1772/4 May 1715.
2. Yaddāsht Māngsir Vadi 10 V.S. 1789/1 Nov 1732.
3. Letter of Dalel Singh to Jai Singh dtd Bhādva Vadi 5 V.S. 1799/10 aug 1742.

prevailing condition in his favour. So much so that while premier nobles could not ignore him he whetted his status by involving in the succession and other problems of the Rajput states. All this in turn cushioned his contacts with the Emperor.

CHAPTER-7

MAINTENANCE OF ARMY FOR MUGHAL SERVICE

The maintenance of army for imperial service was an important pre requisite, every mansabdār had to render. The contingent to be maintained as per practice was indicated by the sawār rank. Accordingly, the payment obtained against the sawār rank was also mentioned.[1] As has been discussed earlier the scale of mansab recorded the jamaʿ of parganas from which the salary (in lieu of mansab) had to be maintained from the mentioned parganas.

The Amber Rājas are known to have held high rank from the time of Bharamal who had the mansab of 5000/ 5000 Mansingh 5000/5000 and later 7000/7000 Mirza Rāja Jai Singh 5000/5000 out of which 5000 was duaspa sihaspa Bishan Singh 2000/2000 and Jai Singh Sawai 7000/7000.

It would thus be evident that the strength of the sawārs the Rāja maintained was considerable.

To check evasion from maintenance all jāgīrdārs had to present their contingent for branding after every six

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1. Yaddāsht, 1 Rabiʿ I 1048/13 July 1639 5000 (Nafar) including Khāsa sanctioned monthly pay 52,00,000 dāms deducting (zāt pay) Khāsa 5000 = Rs.30,000 (x 40) i.e. 12,000,00 dāms.

months.[1] A perusal of siyāh tasīha reveals that name, father's name were entered along with salary 'dōl (Men)' absent dōl if any, horses, absent horses if any, quality, colour of horses apart from the date and place of branding. In one such extant siyah except for two men all others were present at the time of branding. It is also interesting to find a large variety of horses such as Turki Kumēt, Turki Neela bauj, Tāzi Kumēt, Tāzi Surang, Tāzi Neela Kubud, Tazi bauj maqsi, Tazi Surakh, Yābu Neela Kubud, Yābu Suran etc.[2] An important series of chēhra documents dating from 1781 to 1831 reveal how descriptive rolls were maintained in our region. These documents provide the details of the genealogy domicile, complexion, description of forehead, eyebrow, eyes, nose, ears, age etc. The documents pertaining to naqdi troopers detail the quality, colour, marks etc. of the horse too.[3] (See Appendix).

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1. Waqāi'Ajmer p.639.
2. Siyāh Tasīha, Lahore, 1676
3. Chēhra docs, 1781-1831, R.S.A.

Amber was fortunate enough to earn notoriety for maintaining the requisite quota of troops.[1] We thus find Bishan Singh being informed that the Emperor is pleased to see the muster roll of his army and has conferred earrings on him.[2]

How was this quota formed? The percentage of the various martial clans in the army of the <u>rāja</u> and their effective control over clan based army requires a detailed discussion.

Despite the heterogeneous composition of the Naruka clans in our sample <u>parganas</u>, it is also notable that some clans had insignificant strength.[3] It would thus appear that though a large number of clannish people were recruited, the thrust of confidence was enjoyed by the privileged Rājāwat and Naruka clan as would appear from the numerical strength.[4] The fact remains that Rajawats and Narukas even though had higher salary (as per subassigned area) better horse (Turki)

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1. <u>Nuskha-i-Dilkusha</u>, p.140-141a, also <u>Arzdāsht</u> dated <u>Asōj Sudi</u> 15, 1768/29 Sept. 1696 addressed to Bishan Singh informing that the Emperor is pleased to see the muster roll of his army and has conferred ear rings on him.

2. See <u>Arzdāsht</u> dtd. <u>Asōj Sudi</u> 15, 1768/29 Sept 1696.

3. <u>Siyāh Tasiha</u>, 1676.

4. Among these castes were brāhmans, banya, Gahlōt, Mina, Sodha, Jādam, Chandēl and Kāyasth.

and were also entrusted with the responsibly of jamiatdār, such favours were also bestowed by the rulers to Sheikhawat, Gaur, Pathāns of Peshawar as also Solankhīs.[1]

So far as the mode of remuneration was concerned it varied considerably. The more enormous amount were paid through subassignments of areas within the jāgīr of the Rāja.[2] However small amounts were paid in cash.[3]

The subassignees were the local magnates including bhōmias belonging to varied martial clans.

From the arhsattas, it is borne out that the jama while being sub assigned came to be known as tan for the purpose of sub assignment. The tan of each village was calculated on the basis of the area of a pargana keeping aside the uncultivable waste and punya udik, in'ām etc. The entire tan of a village or a portion of it would be assigned to a sub assignee. Simultaneously, there could be more than one assignee sharing the tan depending upon terms and conditions of their service and the amount to be paid to them against their service. The assignee could also be

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1. See Siyāh Tasīha.
2. For details see awarija mutaliba, 1676
3. Arhsatta jamiat kharch, pargana Akbarabad 1735 A.D. also Chēhra Nagdi V.S. 1788/1731.

assigned _tan_ in more than one village.[1]

It appears that like Mughal _jāgīrs_ the above subassignment were also on a temporary and short term basis, though one finds that in most cases they were renewed from year to year.[2]

The subassignments were calculated on an annual basis. Then the tenure of a _jāgīrdār_ was reduced to the months he had to serve, viz. ten months, (_dah māha_) eight months (_ath māha_) or six months (_cha māha_) this was then divided by twelve (months) the monthly payment thus achieved was multiplied by the numbers of months for which the assignment was made.[3] It is interesting to note that in _pargana_ Chatsu all Rajput and non Rajput clans are assigned twelve monthly _jāgīrs_ except for Brāhmanas, Kāyasthas and Mahājan who were assigned _jāgīrs_ only for eight months. In _pargana_ Malarna surprisingly all the sub assignees are on eight monthly

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1. _Arhsatta Pargana Chatsu_ 1730 Annual Salary of Ram Chand Rājāwat - Rs.3000.

Mauza Kirtipur	_Barsipur_	_Anandpura_
550	666.8.03	783.09.00

2. _Chithi qarār miti māngsir_ 5, V.S. 1801/30 Nov 1744.
3. _Arhsatta Pargana_ Chatsu 1730, etc. _op.cit_.

assignment.[1] The reason seems hard to ascribe, for pargana Chatsu we can argue that the abovementioned caste were being treated inferior though same obligations were being extorted as from twelve monthly subassignees. However it is for pargana Malarna that the problem becomes unconvincing.

Some of these subassingnees were jamiatdārs who had under them several unit of sawārs, bargandāz etc. Thus Bhairav Das received Rs. 10,000 for 18 horse and 18 sawārs.[2]

On an average the monthly rate per unit of sawār rank gleaned from our documents[3] appears to be of much relevance when compared to those of 1595[4] and 1570.[5]

RATE PER UNIT OF SAWĀR

1595	1675	1750
Rs. 20/-	Rs. 46/-	Rs.48/-

The amount varied according to the quality of horse.

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1. Ibid also Arhsatta Pargana Malarna 1730.
2. Siyāh Tasīha, 1675 op.cit.
3. Ibid.
4. Āīn, p.175-177 also Shireen Moosvi The Economy of the Mughal Empire, 1595: p.216.
5. Terīj tabinān jāgīrdār V.S. 1807, 1750 Cf. S.P. Gupta Agrarian System, op.cit., p.222.

PAY OF YAK ASPA (in Rs.)

	1595	1675
Turki	20	46[1]
Yābu	18	--
Tāzi	15	44
Jangla	12	--

So far as the break up of per unit of sawār rank is concerned Shireen Moosvi has worked it out for Mughal India basing on information contained in Ā'īn.[2] For our region such details are lacking S.P. Gupta has, however, attempted to calculate the average payment per horse by dividing the total annual salary of tabinān by the total number of horses and then by converting the amount into monthly payment he arrives at a figure of Rs. 47.83/-.[3] In doing so he has completely ignored firstly, the fact that some of these tabinān were duaspa or sih aspa. Secondly, the average

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1. Sujah tasiha op.cit. for variance see Inayat Ali Zaidi: Rozinadar troopers under Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur (A.D. 1700-1743) wherein he lists Rs.24 and Rs.15 for Turki and Yabu respectively also see my note on the above article and response by Inayat Ali Zaidi in IHR, XIV, Nos 1-2, (July 1987 and January 1988), pp.411-412.

2. The Economy of Mughal Empire, p.216.

3. Agrarian System, p.222.

payment per horse cannot be worked out by dividing the total number of horse with the salary in isolation with the number of sawārs. From his list of Tabinān when we take only yak aspa sawārs, we get the average annual payment per unit of sawār, converting it into monthly payment we get 48.8. From this amount when we subtract the average payment per horse calculated by S.P. Gupta, we leave only Rs.1.8 for the personal salary of the sawār which appears unreasonable.

What is worth considering in this respect is the actual expenditure incurred on the maintenance of a Turki horse in 1735 at pargana Akbarbad available to us in arhsatta.[1] Turki Kumet is paid @ Rs.23 (per month).

TURKI (KUMĒT) Rs.23 (PER MONTH)

Naqad	Rs.12/=	Jinsi	Rs.11
Charāi (of grain)	Rs. 3.70	Mōth	Rs. 6.10
Charbādār	Rs. 3.70	Ghee	Rs. 4.90
Pukhtani	Rs. 1.27		
Nālbandi	Rs. 0.23		
Zeen (harness)	Rs. 2.89		
Misc (Rassa)			

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1. Arhsatta Jamiat Kharch, op.cit.

Jabri, Hathi

Jurhēra

Dhāno and

Masāla (spices) Rs. 0.21

considering the pay of yak aspa (Turki) in 1675 which was Rs.46[1] if we subtract Rs.23 fixed for the maintenance of horse. Then it appears that there is 1:1 ratio between personal salary of sawār and the maintenance cost of horse.

This may also be substantiated by a Wakīl report[2] wherein it is stated that forty lakh dāms were deduced from the salary due to the transfer of 500 sawārs. The amount thus assigned per head comes to 8000 per annum. The increase in the amount may be justified perhaps by the salary allowed to jamiatdārs or subassignees.

The maintenance cost of the rest of the qualities of horses is not provided in our set of documents.

Fortunately, enough, we have the personal salary of sawārs maintaining Tāzi, Yābu and Jangla horses for the year 1731, which are Rs. 22. Rs. 15 and Rs. 12 respectively. If

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1. Ibid

2. WR dtd 14 Ramzān 1103/31 May 1692

we subtract personal pay of Tāzi sawār (i.e. Rs. 22) from the pay of yak (Tāzil) aspa (i.e. Rs. 44) we get again 1: 1 ratio.

The payment made to a bargandāz in 1595 ranged from Rs.2 3/4 to Rs.6 1/4.[1] In 1731, the payment was almost similar i.e. Rs.3 to 6.[2]

Bandūqchi (Matchlock bearers) of common category are divided into five classes like the bargandāzes[3] the payment of these too ranged between Rs. 6 1/4 and Rs. 2 3/4.[4] In 1667 and 1668 the variance in the salary of bandūqchi ranged from Rs.1.8 to Rs.5. We also come across instances of enhancement in the number of bandūq as well as the salary of bandūqchi.[5]

The salary of harkāras(mace-bearers) for the year 1681 remains surprisingly static at Rs.3/-.[6] And the mulāzims

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1. Āin I, p.40.
2. Chêhra Naqdi, 1731, R.S.A.
3. Āin, I, p.6.
4. Āin, I, p.6.
5. Yaddāsht Fēhrist Mina 1667, 1668, R.S.A., Bikaner
6. Ibid 1681, 1781.

received Rs. 1.12 to 2.04 per month.[1]

The artillery was another important department of the army it can be divided into heavy and light artillery. In the 17th century the cumbersome application of heavy artillery began to be felt. It is therefore Interesting that the nature of our information details light artillery pieces.[2] What is more striking is the fact that the number of muskets is the largest when compared to other pieces of artillery though these were being wielded by infantry.

The types of artillery pieces listed include i) nāli ii) hathnāli iii) tōbra (iv) Ghurhnāli v) Shuturnāli vi) zambūr vii) raheru viii) dhamāka ix) rāmchangi and x) Bandūq.[3]

All of these categories have been grouped under light artillery[4], or styled tōpkhana jinsi (moveable artillery), which was attached to Emperor's person.[5]

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1. Ibid 1667-73
2. Taujih jama kharch tōpkhana, Kārtik Vadi 1, V.S. 1783 to Chaitra Vadi 11, 1783.
3. Ibid
4. Irvine, p.133.
5. Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668, p.218.

Nāli as the term itself suggests was a gun barrel. Three categories of nāli are known to us i) Small nāli ii) Bachādar and iii) Bachkāni (small) nakāra (ineffective).

Shuturnāli was a gun fred from camel's back. It was a small field piece of the size of double musket.[1] The maintenance cost incurred upon this ranged from 30 dāms to 10 dāms showing the difference in the variety of these shuturnāls.[2]

Ghurhnāl similarly was fired from horses back.[3] The maintenance cost of this was invariably 30 dāms.[4]

Hathnāli meant a gun barrel used from an elephant. This would appear synonymous to the Gajnāl referred to in Āin.[5] One of these measured 15 ft[6] maintenance cost again was 30 dāms.[7]

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1. Ibid, p.217.
2. Jamaʿ Kharch Topkhāna
3. Platts, p.33 also Iqbālnāma, p.49.
4. Jamaʿ Kharch topkhāna
5. Ibid
6. Jamaʿ Kharch
7. Ibid

Tōbra has been variously defined as nose bag[2] or as a mantlet.[3] From the kind of information that we have it is clear that the width of the tōbra a āhni (Kerchief) is 9.11 in almost all the cases while the weight of tīr (arrow/balls) is 3 seers. The amount incurred on these 3 seers tīr varied from Rs.125.8 to 685.8 and Rs.484.12. This description reveals that the bag was used to keep arrows.[4]

Zambūr was the short for zambūrak (camel swivel). In our documents both the swivels measure two hath and forty six līva and the weight of the tōp rēz was 51181. The maintenance rates differed from 11 dāms to 73.[5]

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1. Āīn, 36.
2. Muntakhāb Ut Tawārīkh Bib. Ind. I, p.334.
3. Irvine, pp.142-4.
4. Jama'Kharch.
5. Ibid
6. Wilson, 609.

Rahēru was a light cart[6] the division between Raheru asatghāti and Ainee is provided,[1] it is however difficult to identify these divisions.

Dhamāka was a cannon carried on elephant.[2] The maintenance rate varied from 35 to 9 dams.

Rāmchangi was a light field piece.[3] Two varieties of these have been mentioned, duzarba and nākāra (inefficient) the maintenance cost ranged from 30 to 10 dāms.

Bandūq was a matchlock.[4] Up to the 18th century it was looked with less favour than bow and arrow. It was left chiefly to the infantry who occupied a much inferior position to that of cavalry. Among the other varieties of bandūq were included lavchar and nākāra. The rates vary from Rs.6.8 as to 60.8.[5]

From the number of these weapons it is evident that bandūq was the most commonly used arm followed by Rāmchangi and Zambūr previous to this use of bow and arrows was more

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1. Jama' Kharch
2. Platts p.546 also Iqbālnāmā p.49.
3. Jauhar-i-Samsām, fol.155a.
4. Jama' Kharch op.cit.
5. Ibid.

in vogue the bandugs mostly were wielded by infantry the largest wing of the army.

Apart from cannons and arms the carriages to draw it formed an important section of the army. The types referred to in our documents are i) Takht Chaubīn nālika. This was an open pālki used by a person of rank.[1] Bahāl Ikhtra Ki Chaubīn was a finely built carriage meant for bedding and beggage.[2] Another type was dhadha chaubin the carriage which was thatch roofed. Gārha chaubīn was a gun carriage.[3]

The other department was the arms etc used by the animals. These included i) Pakhāl aghōri which was an iron armour for the defence of a horse[4] and the ii) Pairha bahni oonta kj the iron track for camel[5] and the jōt aghori the straps of a carriage.[6]

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1. See Platts p.313, and p.448.
2. Ibid, p.30.
3. Platts p.892.
4. Pakhār means armour Āin I, 139 aghori is used for horses
5. Pldtts
6. Ibid

We also get the details of the objects used (Kalash Peetal, Katōri, Dolak, Bamboo, Mashak, rope (of i) cotton and II) jute, howda etc) cloth (tukrhi, took, mōmjāma cheent) and metaletc iron wire, wax, copper, seesa, cotton, sulphur, saltpetre etc).

It is noteworthy that both horses etc. and artillery were provided by the state since the expenditure stated includes only the maintenance cost of these objects. Shyamal Das in a stray statement says that while returning from Deccan horses worth Rs.1,000 was taken to the watan for breeding purpose.[1]

It is needful it seems here to peruse the application and usage of the army contingent and the weaponry by the Rāja for the Imperial Court.

Jai Singh Sawai could easily muster above fifty thousand troopers as he did when he opposed the Sayyids in 1719 or when he proceeded against Jodhpur in 1740. A notable success was achieved at Sambhar in Oct. 1708, when Saiyid Husain Khan was defeated with extensive use of matchlock.[2]

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1. Vir Vinod, vol.II, p.1289.

2. See Bādshāhnāma, vol.I, p.76.

As would appear from the preceding discussion allusions are to the fact that decline in the maintenance of army for Imperial service did not take place, despite the fact one way presume this to be the case at the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. In fact we find an increasing vigour in maintenance and the involvement of Amber Rāja at the Imperial court. The result being the effective usage of the Amber army at the Imperial Court.

The interest of Sawai Jai Singh was not to shake the yoke of the centre instead to gain his interest within the shadow of the Mughal court. As early as Aurangzeb's period Bhimsen says that jāgīrdārs except for Durgadas, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh did not maintain the requisite contingent. The result is that the jāgīrdārs were unable to maintain army as effectively as Jai Singh.

Jai Singh Sawai was aware that such a contingent would not be able to check Maratha disturbances. The answer appears perhaps in the nature of the army maintenance while Marathas were known for Swift mobility with muskets on cavalry our Rāja's army as we have seen had more infantry than cavalry. The infantry was moreover equipped with muskets. Therefore inspite of larger strength of Rāja's army small Maratha contingent could wipe the Rajputs in the battle.

After Sawai Jai Singh, internal dissensions crept into the army too which divided the Rajput chieftains to acquire more influence at the cost of Jaipur State.

CHAPTER-8

IMPERIAL KĀRKHĀNAS AT AMBER

Kārkhānas had been known in India much earlier to that of the Mughal times. It came into prominence in the time of Firoz Tughluq. The 36 kārkhānas mentioned by Afif produced such articles as met the requirement of the state.[1] Mughal Emperor had royal kārkhānas at the Capital[2] as well as the provinces. The latter being maintained by nobles. We thus find references to such workshops existing in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, Agra, Banaras, Amber etc.

Kārkhānas served the purpose of manufactory, storehouse and repair workshops. The number of these kārkhānas varied according to rising necessities.

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1. Afif: Tārikh-i Firūz Shāhi, pp.334, 337-339.

2. Bernier describes the Royal kārkhānas as follows "Large halls are seen in many places, called Karkanays or workshops for the artisans. In one hall ambroiders are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, barnishes in lacquer-work, in a fifth, joiners, turners, and shoe maker; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins... The artisans repair every morning to their respective kar-kanays, where they remained employed the whole day and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away... Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, pp.258-9.

Moreland states that the kārkhānas were maintained by the Emperor alone is not correct.[1] Athar Ali contends that detailed information about the kārkhānas maintained by the nobles is not available.[2] However for the ruler of Amber we have information that he maintained 36 kārkhānas, the detailed account is available to us for the period of Sawai Jai Singh.

The Mughal nobles were interested in the trade of luxury goods and sometimes the Emperor himself purchased jewels through these nobles. At Amber, the Rāja appeared to promote a variety of articles which could meet the requirement at Imperial Court as well as local. Therefore we see the manufacturing of robes, utensils, arms and furniture etc. at Amber.

The present study involves an examination of the information sifted from kārkhānazāt papers. The raw material used, the officials employed, the clans and persons involved, the item manufactured and their utility are

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1. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p.186; Bernier (p.258n) describes that "in the palace of the Maharaja of Banares, at Ram Nagar, may still be seen excellent examples of such palace workshops, which have served not a little to maintain a high standard of workmanship, or many of the specialities of the district".

2. Athar Ali: Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.157.

attempted to be focussed. We, have made an analysis of select kārkhānas leaving others due to the source material being scattered.[1]

The most important kārkhāna are those related to the army of Sawai Jai Singh which may be classified into the following categories (1) animal stables, 2) manufactory of harness, saddles and briddles 3) manufactory of arms and artillery and 4) the storehouse and manufactory of carriages and palanguins.

The administration of kārkhānas was in the hands of darogha who was the superintendent, the next in command was the tehvīldār, tehvīldār of a particular kārkhāna could be transferred to other kārkhāna. The tehvīldār of different kārkhānas worked in full coordination with one another as would appear from a perusal of the kārkhāna papers. The mushrif maintained the ledgers while the sāhs and bhayyas took security on behalf of the employees.

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1. Among the 36 kārkhānas, the extant documents relate to a. gokhana (cow stables); b. silehkhāna (arms and artillery); c. pālikikhāna (carriages and palanguins); d. shuturkhāna (camel stable); e. tōpkhāna (artillery); f. farrāshkhana (carpets); g. kirkirikhā-na (utensils); h. zargarkhana (gold wares); i. zīnk-hana (harness and briddles);j. toshakkhana (matteress-es); k. Naqqārkhāna (bands and drums); l. Rangkhāna (paint and polish).

Our accounts enable us to work out the monthly expenditure on at least five of the karkhanas. These are however not for the same period. The heaviest expenditure per mensem was on the artillery followed by pālkikhāna, zīnkhāna and shuturkhāna etc.[1]

I

The animal stables include the stables for camel, horse, elephant and cows. At present only camel stables are taken into account.

The kārkhāna for the maintenance of camels was termed as shuturkhāna or oontgrah. Camels were bred and groomed in this department. A retainer was employed for each camel, to look after the animal and command it at an expedition.[2]

These camels were maintained for accompanying in hunting expedition as can be discerned from the demand of camels with prescribed details for hunting expedition of the Emperor.[3] They were used for camel fights as well as the

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1. For details see Karkhānas of a Mughal noble - evidence from Amber/Jaipur Records presented at I.H.C., 1992, Delhi.

2. Jama' Kharch shuturkhāna.

3. For details see jama' kharch shuturkhāna V.S. 1874/1817.

battlefield.[1] Swivels were loaded on it,accordingly, it was named after the animal as zambūrāk (camel-piece) and shuturnāl (camel-swivel). Due mainly to the swiftness of this animal, the camel swivel became popular light artillery piece.[2] Camel corpse accompanied the officials stationed at the various assignments of the Rāja. We have information pertaining to their maintenance at Ujjain[3], Shahjahanabad[4] and Akbarabad.[5] All the services mentioned above are expected from the camels under the department of Shuturkhāna huzūri. The other department shuturkhāna dēsh being exclusively for the services at the watan area itself.[6]

The officials incharge of the shuturkhāna included as in other stables, the amīn, mushrif darogha and the tehvīldār. The tehvīldār was the highest authority and was common

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1. The camels and retainers lost in such expeditions are recorded as also the camels taken possession of by the enemy. See Jama' Kharch Shuturkhāna V.S. 1874/1817.

2. See Jama' Kharch tōpkhāna, V.S. 1874/1817.

3. Jama' kharch Shuturkhāna

4. Ibid

5. Arhsatta Jama' Kharch pargana Akbarabad V.S. 1702.

6. Jama Kharch papers.

to more than one stables.[1]

The camels maintained and used in this department varied from the age of 5 to 13 years.

The breeds preferred were balauchi, kuchhi, ghilzai, bugdi though there were categories within each breed. The lowest category priced even lower to the desi. The desi breed was more common in shuturkhāna desh. The colours of breeds mentioned are black, brown, red, dhōla (white) and sānwla (dark).[2]

The animal seems to be very tough skinned since eventhough bruises and injuries were recorded. They were neither abandoned nor the salary of the employers of the camel or the retainer curtailed.[3] However, when the camel became blind or lame the retainer was fined.[4]

The salary of the retainer depended upon the breed and the category (Table A) as well as sex to which the camel

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1. Lachmiram was the tehvīldār of the horse stable as well as Shuturkhana see Chehra Nagdi 1768/1731 and Jama' Kharch Shuturkhāna.

2. Ibid.

3. Jama' Kharch Shuturkhāna.

4. Āīn, 65

belonged. For the female camel the payment was low in comparison to the male camel (Table B).

Table A

SHOWING THE RANGE OF DIFFERENCE IN PAYMENT

Category	Bugdi	Ghilzai	Balauchi	Desi	Kuchi
1	250	150	145	180	157
2	150	129	124	160	135
3		125	85	125	75
4			64	90	

Table B

SHOWING THE VARIETY AND LOWPAYMENT MADE TO THE RETAINER OF SHE CML

Category	Balauchi	Bugdni	Bauti	Desi
1	130	150	120	94
2	55		120	60
3	50			

Working out the average and comparing it with the salary of the commander of twenty five camel, since we do

not have the figure for the retainer of a camel the result is as follows:

Table C

1556	1717
(Rs.)	(Rs.)
1.5	12.3

The maintenance cost as available to us in _arhsatta jamiat kharch_ was Rs.263.4 for 258 days i.e. Rs.1.02 per day, the monthly payment thus comes to Rs.30.60. The break-up of monthly allowance is given as follows[1]

Naqd	Fodder (_Jinsi_)	M	S	Ch	Grooming	
	flour	0	1	8	_gaddi_	2.8
0.4 cash	_ghee_	0	0	8	_Koochi_	2.0
0.2 _charāi_	jaggery	0	0	12	_tirkavān_	3.0
	gram	0	3	0	_Sōrhi_	3.0
					Chakāi	2.8
					dōri koswān	3.0
					Ras	?

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1. Listed along with above details are _prices per rupee_:

	M	S	Ch
flour:	0 .	13 .	12
ghee :	0 .	2 .	4
jaggery:	0 .	9 .	2
gram :	0 .	11 .	12

Unfortunately, more details for the varying maintenance cost in accordance with breed, sex etc. are lacking.

Over and above these expenses, the expenditure incurred upon the harness are also recorded in the jama' kharch papers. The enormity of the expenditure incurred can be gauged by a perusal of the jama' kharch papers belonging to different years.[1] The items listed include gaddi (a seat)[2], jhool (saddle cloth)[3]. Cheent, lōgi hāsya masruka, tāt (jute sack) jāzam (chequered or ornamented linen)[4], sorhi (saddle cloth)[5], jahāz tāt (camel saddle)[6], tang (a girth)[7], chakma (boot)[8], pati (strip), markar, Kōrhyāl

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1. Ibid.

NAQD			JINSI	
138253.98				
	THĀN	GAZ	MAN	JŌRHI
	2382.8	2584.6.4	1202/-	35

2. Wilson
3. Āīn.
4. Platts, p.370.
5. Ibid, p.702.
6. Āīn
7. Ibid.
8. Platts, p.437.

(braided or spotted flower)[1], bethan Kharwa, salita, Kharwa (rope for securing burden)[2], partha, rakābdawās (leather stirrup) khārwa gaz, patrho, gaji, poprcha, and pardaresni. In addition to such items as rope (rassi) cotton (rooi) silk string (rassi resham) cotton string (dōri suti) rēzgi nāmad (?) iron (lōh) and string (dōra) for fastening.

I I

Zīnkhāna was the department in charge of the preparation, maintenance and repair of harness, saddles and bridles.

The variety of zīn recorded include jewel studded (jarhāu jōt) fastening[3] jarhau zīn (saddle) and that of solid gold.[4] The furniture, trappings, decoratives and harnesses were made by all the three techniques, the usage of these varieties differed according to animal or the status of the owner.

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1. Ibid, p.862.
2. Āīn.
3. Platts, p.395.
4. Jama' Kharch Zīnkhana dtd. Bhadva Sudi 3, V.S. 1774 to Bhadva Sudi 2, V.S. 1775.

Jarhau jōt[1] were the delicately crafted ones made by mursakāri and enamelling[2] (minakāri) craftsmanship. These were decorated with precious stone like sapphire (nilam) and small ruby (churni). These were the most expensive variety of harness, items like a square and low seat (chowki),[3] a handkerchief or shawl[4] (Singhāra khana), a rope used for the den of wild beast[5] (bandhan kho); seat made of erisilk[6] (tat pirhi), rope for fastening the seat[7] (perhi bandhan), nali, the heal piece of horse or camel[8] (panmekhana), chair (kursi), the pole of carriage[9] (mayāna), machhli, painak and ring (dari) were made with the above techniques.

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1. The internal evidence suggests this technique being similar to inlay work.
2. Platts, p.1107.
3. Ibid, p.452.
4. Ibid, p.687.
5. Ibid, p.170 & p.884.
6. Platts, p.299 & 354.
7. Ibid, p.299 & 170.
8. Ibid, p.219 & 1103.
9. Ibid., p.1103.

Jarhāu zīn included items like jot, chair (kursi), pole of a carriage, ornament[1] (thēkhro), the rope or band round an elephant neck in which the silver fixes his feet[2] (thatwa), the belt that passes over horses breast to prevent saddle slipping backs[3] (pēshbandh), a crupper[4] (dumchi, painak) and the thick sand of a stick[5] (muthiya). These were decorated with Persian/Central Asian (wilāiti) kājal kāri and studded with precious and semi precious stones and metal like pana (?), ruby (churni), enamel (kundan), pearl (moti), manik (?), gold and copper (tāmba).

The other variety included items made with solid gold, like jōt, zīn, dumchi, peshbandh and mujma'.

The maintenance and repair of the above items was done by tāt dāna, anen, hāthvalki, pāsa, bēdna jivo, khandāval peti masūr (lentil), charas, chakmo and sali tat. All these ingredients were heated (sokhta) before use. The remarks of the mushrif where from the items were received include

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1. Ibid., 366.
2. Ibid., 842.
3. Ibid., 299.
4. Ibid, 526.
5. Ibid., 1000.

repetitive mention of spices (masālo) provided by the Emperor.[1]

The information on the men employed at this department is limited to those serving at nalbandi and tailoring (darzi).[2]

	Nālbandi (Rs)	Darzi (Rs)
	6	11
Exception	12	

The dominance of muslim in nālbandi is unmistakable as also the fact that even the employees were mostly muslims.[3]

The artisans employed for the preparation of the variety of zīns were inducted from Jehanabad, Rewari etc.[4] the payment made to them depended on the variety of trapping and its price.[5]

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1. Jama' kharch marmati zīnkhāna dtd. V.S. 1774-1775.
2. Rōznāma zīnkhāna Bhadva Sudi 3, Mon V.S. 1785.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

S.No.	Name of the trapping	Price (Rs/annas)	Ajuro/Wage (Rs)	%
1.	Kursi	145	23.30	16.18
2.	Chēhro	1635	187	11.43
3.	Kalāwa pēshbandh	30	6	20.00
4.	Chowki wa dumchi	40	7.30	18.75
5.	Painak	25	7.2	30.00
6.	Thēkra	647.4	53.0	8.11

III(a)

Silēhkhāna as would appear from the term itself was the kārkhāna which dealt with the weapons. Arms were manufactured, maintained and repaired in this kārkhāna.

The divisions between silēhkhāna huzuri and silēhkhāna dēsh were present in this karkhana too while the silehkhana dēsh catered to the needs of defense and to strike awe in the social inhabitants, the silēhkhāna huzūri had a larger demand -- the products were offered as pēshkash to the Emperor, presented to other nobles and to the various men

specialising in wielding these weapons.[1]

The expenditure in this department is classified in the documents as naqdi and jinsi.[2] The naqdi kharch besides the payment of sair included the expenses on maintenance (istimāl), repairs and hawālgi.[3]

On the other hand the jinsi division dealt with disbursement on such heads as thān (unit), jōrhi, dast, zarab, dasta, tōla and man.

The items included under than are charminār and chila resham etc. The categories of dasta also varied as is indicated by the range of prices, the items included were kamān, kabza, bhāla, tīr, kōft, and pati.

The payment in this workshop was made through the prominent persons under the head hawālgi. They were, as appears from the documents, either wakīl or diwān. The disbursed amount is also indicated in the documents. Among the men employed, we have the following list of professional

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1. Arhsatta Silēhkhāna dtd. Asārh Vadi, 9 V.S. 1800 to Bhādva Sudi, 2 1800.

2. Ibid dtd. Paush Sudi 11, V.S. 1800 to Bhādva Sudi 2, 1800.

3. Ibid.

men who wielded arms and the payment they received.[1]

Table A

PAYMENT TO THE ARTILLERY WIELDERS

CATEGORY OF ARTILLERY MEN	RANGE OF PAYMENT (in rupees)
PIYĀDA	1; 11.11, 17.1
CHŌBDAR	.2
TĪRGAR	3.1; .4
NAQĪB	1, 35.12
KAMÂNIGAR	3.6; 3.10, 8; 12.10; 38.7; 106
GĀRHIVĀN	2.10; 6.6
KŌFTGAR	1.2; 58.12
TŌPBARDĀR	3
RAIGAR TŌPKHĀNA	11
BHĀLABARDĀR	.14
KHĀSBARDĀR	5
MĀHIBARDĀR	10
PATIBĀZ	161.7
TĪRSĀL	20
BARIBA SOKHTA	3
JAMÀDĀR	14
NĀPCHI	.7

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1. Ibid.

The absolute figures of payment show the variance of expenditure. However, it is difficult to ascertain on the basis of the table the volume of production in relation to the payment. This is possible only, when we trace such documents for the whole year.

Besides the above were those artisans who manufactured or assisted in the making of weapons such men include the following:

TABLE B

PAYMENT MADE TO THE ARTISANS ETC

CLAN/CASTE	PAYMENT
BRĀHMAN	1, 1.8, 2, 3.2
BHAGAT	15, 18.12
KĀYASTH	.6; 2.9; 8.2; 29.12; 87,
BHĀYA	.9, 30,
SANGHI	.4
BAJĀJ	.3; .12; 13, 153
MAHĀJAN	.8, 2.14, 3.10
BOHRA	2
JAUNĀRI	1.2
SUNHĀR	2.4, 4.12
LUHĀR	.5, 3.12, 9.6, 17.12
JĀT	1.8

MUSALMĀN	2; 20
GANDHI	-
MINA	.8; 2, 14
KHATI	3; 20
DARZI	.4, 1.8;
DHŌBI	3.75
THATHERA	4.2, 4.7, 38
NAI	11.1
JARAH	1.4, 2
CHAMĀR	20.4
MŌCHI	1, 8.13, 18

The significance of Table 'B' appears to be in the involvement of officials belonging to upper caste. Does it suggest their direct involvement as a manufacturing classes or that the low caste groups had to work under the direction of the state official on a wage-basis and the raw materials for the workshop was supplied by the class resulting from their involvement is not clear.

The exhaustive details provided to us from the kārkhāna papers indicate that no further expenses were incurred in this department on bringing of raw material which perhaps were provided by the department specializing

in it. The department also had in its possession such weapons as had been offered as *peshkash* to the Raja by the subassignees etc.[1]

III(b)

The *topkhana* was another important department of the army. It acted as manufactory of the explosives. The *mushrif* (examiner), not only recorded but also distributed the expenditure, duration, and arms provided in kind to *tahvīldārs*.

The artillery pieces found in usage in the *tōpkhāna huzūri* have already been dealt with in the chapter related to army. In the *tōpkhāna dēsh* mention of *bans* is frequently made, namely *Rām bān*, *Lakshman bān*, *Kishan bān*, and *Arjun bān*. Unfortunately, only the material used for the preparation of *Lakshman bān* is known to us. The ingredients include leather (*aghori*), wax (*mōm*) iron (*lōh*) and brass (*peetal*) which would compliment to *ban* being an arrow.[2] A remnant *Rām bān* in the Jaipur fort is surprisingly a cannon.

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1. *Siyāh silēhkhāna*, *Māgh Sudi* 8 Fri, *V.S.* 1793/1736.
2. For details see *jama' kharch topkhana*, *Kārtik Vadi* 1, *V.S.* 1783 to *Chaitra Vadi* 11, *V.S.*, 1783.

IV

Pālkikhāna was the workshop which dealt with the making, maintaining and repairing of palanquins.

This workshop catered to the other workshops which utilized the same raw material and also supplied the pālkis to the imperial household as well as some nobles. This difference is pronounced by references to palanguins under khāsa and mayāna category.[1] The nobles who benefitted from the workshop were Rajput Rāja of Udaipur, Rai Shiv Singh, and Shah Quli. They sent their wakīls to get the palanquins repaired too from the same workshop.[2]

A palanguin is found to be worth Rs.236.3, a perusal of jama'kharch papers[3] would reveal that there were numerous varieties of palanguins. The expenditure of palanguins can be divided into the expenses incurred on the raw material and the expenditure on the men employed to prepare it.

The raw material included pitcher (kalash), ring fixed on the trunk of the elephant (mhola), pati, mutka, twisted

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1. Jama' Kharch Pālkikhāna dtd Asoj Sudi 15 V.S. 1800 to Asārh Vadi 10, 1800.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

ropes (kalāwa) of rupa, mulmaitila of ahni mulmanukra and bronze wooden items included rod (bans) of bamboo and timber (kāth), umbrella (chatri) and mayana.

The items made of cloth include kholi, gaddi, gaj gāh, namāsu, giradpech, gaji, chakma, scarf chira, broad cloth (chādar) chhat, ornamental linen (jāzam), jama, thathri, dōr, dandi pores, pillow (takiya), bag (thaila), small bag (thaili), curtain (purdāh), pindi, cot (palang), phenta, phunda, bhaithan, barrhi rasa, sozni, saddle cloth (sunrhi), singhāra and abra.

The type of cloth used are low priced cotton cloth (gazi), nilkanukra (?), woolen cloth with interwoven flowers of wool and silk (jāmavar), light woolen cloth (pashmina) tanzeb (?), voolgar (?), high quality calico (bāfta), velvet (makhmal), wax cloth (mōmjama), momni (?) fine quality of muslin (mahmudi), silk and cotton mixed cloth (mashru), high priced cotton stuff (sēla), high priced muslin (sahan), soft woolen cloth (suqlāt), moderately priced silk stuff (tāfta), striped silk stuff (alaicha), cotton cloth with patterns printed or painted (chhīnt) and roughly spun yarn (khārwa).[1]

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1. For details of these textile terms see glossary in 'An Atlas of the Mughal Empire', pp.69-70.

Other items to help in preparation are kalabatu, zērbandh, nivār ghurhi tukma, dōr, bhindar, makhtul, kalāwa, resham, and brick.

The expenditure on the tailor (ajuro darzi) varied according to the thān (bayle) and material of the cloth.

Category of Item	Quality of Cloth	Unit	Price	Payment
Dand Pares	Suglāt Mashru zardōzi	1	256.1	.6
Chhāt	Mashru	1	11.10	.4
Chādar	Gazi	1	5.12	.8
Chādar	Bāfta	1	9.12	.1
Thathri	Suglāt	1	2.6	.3
Thathri	Suglāt	10	13.8	.3
Takiya	Makhmal	3		1.12
Takiya	Mashru	3	3	1 1/2
Pōs	Mōmjāma	1	9.1	.4
Gaddi	Makhmal	1		.1
Surhi	Makhmal	1	15.12	.9
Singhara	Makhmal	4	2.4	.3

The above perusal would indicate the imperial monopoly despite the involvement of subassignees and merchants who

acted as ~~were~~ guarantors and caterers of the production carried on by independent artisans. Bernier's reference to rich merchants and tradesman, who pay the workmen rather higher wages probably refers to such private manufactories.[1]

Though the prices of the products manufactured at the kārkhānas is stated invariably alongwith the break up of prices for wages and ingredients used from the detailed information we have at hand these products are not found being actually sold or purchased from the market. Instead we find other nobles placing requisitions for palanguins etc. being endorsed from the royal court. These goods it seems formed part of salary claims.[2]

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1. As an illustration of monopoly see parwāna dtd qarār miti Māgh Sudi 15 V.S. 1787/1730; wherein it is stated that the amount for the raw material purchased from raiyat be disbursed immediately from the imperial exchequer and no transport charges be imposed on them. Also see Francoise Bernier, Travels op.cit., pp.254-255.

2. Jamà Kharch Pàlkikhāna, op.cit.

CHAPTER-9

AMBER AND THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

The essence of the decline of the Mughal Empire mainly laid in the weakness of its administrative structure. The Mughal state which was highly centralized in organisational form demonstrated its sovereignty by exercising full administrative control over its territorial domain, while socio-economic and political forces during the 18th century made every effort to minimize the effective control over them.

This period saw the diminishing of the central authority particularly through the upper strata of ruling classes viz. courtiers, wazirs, provincial governors and the local chiefs. Further, the weakness of Mughal sovereignty marked by financial crisis threatened the Empire from within and without. The stability at the centre could have played an important role in subduing the emergence of certain powers which arose in northern Indian by 1740's.

The purpose of this chapter is to puruse the role of the chief of Amber during the period of turmoil of Mughal Empire. We are fortunate to have an enormous wealth of documents in the shape of wakil reports and khutut-i

Maharājgān. These letters are full of details regarding the activities of Sawai Jai Singh.

I

The composition of nobility and its heterogeneous character which became complex in the first half of the 18th century paved the way for the conflict of interests of the various groups to acquire additional powers.[1] Some of these nobles were stationed at the provinces. They were mainly concerned to exact more for organisation and the emoluments especially of their own community (birādari). Sawai Jai Singh was not an exception to it. This urge for additional powers and benefits disturbed the equilibrium of the well established framework of the Emperor - noble equations. The political manipulation of the nobility weakened the central power and promoted the emergence of the Maratha, Jats, Sikhs, and to some extent, the Rajputs. Besides this, the resurgence of certain estates which were hitherto undermined

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1. Satish Chandra 'Parties and Politics'; W. Irvine: Later Mughals, Z.U. Malik, The Reign of Muhammad Shah 1719-1748; Jadunath Sarkar - A History of Jaipur, Revised and edited by Raghubir Singh), 1984; Z.U. Malik, Presidential Addresses, Calcutta, 1991 entitled "The Core and Periphery: A Contribution to debate on the eighteenth century". Muzaffar Alam 'The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India', Awadh and the Punjab (1707-1748); Vir Vinod, Vol.II.

by the central power gradually raised their heads during the first half of the 18th century.

While carving out the principality of Jaipur the ways and means adopted by the rulers of Amber were dissimilar to those of Marathas, Jats and Afghans, it was neither through plunder nor coercion, but through getting _ijaras_, _jagirs_ and _inam_ from the Emperor. The details of which have already been underlined it is true that Sawai Jai Singh also reaped benefits from the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, but he rendered all possible assistance to the Mughal Emperor till the time it served his vested interests. The Mughals too responded to his practical policies with a few exceptions, Mughal Emperor acted at times on the suggestions of Sawai Jai Singh. So by his worth and ability, Sawai Jai Singh enjoyed the status of Mughal Counsellor as well as was counted among the important nobles. He joined the groups at the Mughal Court keeping in view his own interest and family affiliations rather on ethnic or religious grounds. At one time, he was having good relations with the Saiyid and identified himself by their groups but as and when the political situation demanded, he became reluctant to support them. This can also be true in relation to the Marathas and Jats. Sawai Jai Singh, as far as the later Mughal court politics is concerned though not forming his

own group, behaved like a true statesmen dissociated from the different political groups at the Mughal Court from time to time, without betrayal to the Mughal Emperor, whether, it was on the question of *wizarat* or implementation of the imperial policy. It is true, that the leading nobles who could assert in influencing and executing the imperial policy themselves set up their own principalities. After Saiyid brothers' fall, Nizamul Mulk was also keen to carve out a principality in Deccan. Attempts to acquire more and more *mansab* and *jāgīrs* were made. Thus those who could save the disintegration themselves were responsible for the decline of Mughal Empire. The question, now, is, where the rulers of Amber can be placed? Sawai Jai Singh was well acquainted with the court politics and he managed his affairs successfully sometimes involving in court politics and sometimes keeping himself aloof since the *wazīrs* and other nobles were pressing the Emperor to adopt a definite attitude towards the Rajput states and the individual Rajas.

Bahadur Shah and later on Zulfiqar Khan during the reign of Jahandar Shah showed a conciliatory attitude towards the non-muslims. Due to this liberal attitude Nizamul Mulk had to withdraw from the Mughal Court. The above perusal would indicate that though Sawai Jai Singh was counted among the important noble in the imperial hierarchy

but he could not prevail effectively in th above circumstances. It seems that these was no attempt whatsoever on his part to counter balance the pro-muslim nobility to serve his ends.

So politically, checks and balances on the part of the Emperor did not prove effective. To some extent the Emperor wished to appoint such nobles who did not appear to be loyal but had an influential group, But, this policy also did not prove effective as we see in the case of Girdhar Bahadur who himself chose the province for governorship.[1] Even Jai Singh was entrusted the responsibility of Malwa though after a great deal of discussion. In such cases, we see the beginning of the new sūbedāri and provincial independence in the 18th century. The Emperor had no other alternative but was compelled to reconcile with one or other faction of the nobility, whom he considered less ambitious and who appeared to be willing to help. Sawai Jai Singh comes in this category of nobles who were ready to maintain the rhythm of power of Mughal Emperor. His ambition for additional power in the province of Malwa or elsewhere if not protected by the central authority, were worked at by his own alliances

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1. Tarīkh-i-Hind, op.cit., p.240a-b.

with local forces.

I I

Politically, Sawai Jai Singh's endeavours were to effectively administer his assignments, wherever he was posted, he sincerely implemented the imperial policy, he played an important role in the relations of Emperor with the Saiyids, Jats and Marathas. He rebuffed the power of the jat. After the death of Churaman, he subdued Badan Singh, the nephew of Churaman, who formally recognized Jai Singh power[1]Sawai Jai Singh, after the fall of the fort of Thun forwarded all the valuable to the Mughals Court. Badan Singh did not enter into direct relationship with the Mughal government but the Mughal Emperor could foresee its impact keeping in view the past experience. "At least temporarily jat problem was over. On June 19,Badan Singh signed a formal agreement with Jai Singh as follows. As the Maharaja has bestowed upon me the territory, villages and the land of Churaman Jat. I will remain in service of the Durbār and will rent every year Rs.83,000 as peshkash."[2] This shows the

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1. Dastūr-Komwar, papers R.S.A.

2. Kapātdwara Records, op.cit.

influence of Jai Singh Sawai at the Mughal Court. Every now and then, they issued farmāns requesting him to attend the court immediately for consultation or to suppress the disturbances created by the jats in the vicinity of Agra. On his achieving success Sawai Jai Singh was granted robes of honour for his meritorious services.[1]

In relation to the Marathas, Sawai Jai Singh showed his statesmanship and proved helpful for the central authority from further devastation. Sawai Jai Singh's relations viz a viz the Marathas started when he was appointed as governor in Malwa or when he acted earlier as a deputy to Prince Bidar Bakht in 1705-6.

The Marathas made regular raids in Malwa and adjoining areas due to its being rich in revenue resources. It was also considered to be the gateway of Northern India. The influence of court nobles and the Emperor did not give Sawai Jai Singh a free hand to deal with the Marathas. Moreover, the appointment of Amir Khan as governor of Malwa disturbed the Mahāraja, who did not show any enthusiasm. In 1726,

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1. Farmān (Persian), Mughal Court to Mahārāja Sawai Jai Singh 29th Rabi' I A.H. 1126. 3rd RY of Farrukh Siyar/13 March 1716 Kapātdwara p.5. The Emperor was pleased to award a khilat fākra (embroidered) jewelled sarpēch and a Khāsa horse to Mahrāja Sawai Jai Singh for suppressing the revolts in the Sūba Malwa. A note of appreciation is added by the Emperor.

Mahrana Sangram Singh also requested Sawai Jai Singh for help against the Maratha invasion in his country. There was unrest in Marwar and Kota. The efforts of Girdhar Bahadur, subedar of Malwa had failed to check the advancing Marathas. Sawai Jai Singh did not move from Amber perhaps due to the fact that confrontation with the Marathas at this juncture would invite Marathas for the devastation of his own watan. When, the Emperor gave strong instruction to him to help sūbedār Bhawani Ram, father of Girdhar Bahadur he supported the Mughals. The Mughal army successfully occupied Mandu from the Marathas in 1730. His half hearted support may be explained for two reasons. Firstly, as has been said earlier he wanted to refrain himself from the direct clash with the Marathas, so that his own land would become safe. Secondly, his financial limitations,dissatisfied soldiers, and half hearted support from the people of Malwa had pressed him for reconciliation. Consequently, he inspired the Emperor to agree for a settlement. Sahu demanded a jāgīr of Rs.10,00,000/- annually in the name of his adopted son Kushal Singh with some other provisions Sawai Jai Singh's advice was practical. He wrote to the Emperor that a large army and a lot of money would be required for crushing the Marathas. It would then be better, if a jāgīr of

Rs.10,00,000/- was granted to Kushal Singh son of Chhatrpati.

The court nobles prevailed upon the Emperor and ultimately negotiations failed. He had to stake his governorship, due to the effectiveness of Muhammad Khan Bangash, the new sūbedār, Sawai Jai Singh was reappointed as sūbedār of Malwa on Sept.29, 1732. In 1733, Holkar and Ranoji Scindia encircled the Imperial forces at Mandasor. Being a failure here, he was fully convinced that a policy of reconciliations might be fruitful, even then, he obeyed the instructions of the Court. Moreover, his apprehensions to the entry of the Marathas into Rajasthan pressed him to convene a conference of the chiefs of Rajasthan at Hurda on July 17, 1934 to find solution to keep Marathas beyond Narmada and save Malwa and Rajasthan which may serve three fold purpose a) to implement the Mughal policy b) to safeguard Rajputana from its ruin and c) to ensure the unity of Rajput chiefs. It is clear by this conference that every chief from Rajputana sought protection of Sawai Jai Singh.

This conference could not succeed in solving the problems. Under the circumstances, Sawai Jai Singh tried to convince the Emperor to negotiate peace, again

the orthodox section of nobility did not allow Sawai Jai Singh's practical advice to prevail. Jai Singh was convinced to negotiate with Baji Rao, but till the last, he did not betray the cause of the Mughals. Even during the reign of Muhammad Shah, when Nizamul Mulk was entrusted the assignment to drive the Peshwa of northern India. Sawai Jai Singh sent a well armed force under his son, Ishwari Singh and Ayamal to serve under Ghaziuddin, who was appointed as subedār of Malwa instead of Sawai Jai Singh.

With the defeat of Mughal forces where Rajput and jats fought bravely, Muhammad Shah realized the wise counsel of Sawai Jai Singh and Peshwa was granted the subedāri of Malwa.

The above perusal was necessary due, mainly, to the fact that during Maratha inroads, Sawai Jai Singh tried to implement the policy of Mughal Emperor as far as it was possible. His role in Malwa in relation to the Mughal Emperor and Marathas was not treacherous as maintained by some scholar[1]. He wanted to save his own self keeping in view the development at the Mughal Court and the strong force under the Marathas, where zamīndārs and cultivators were also discontent due to Daya Bahadur's oppression, his

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1. Irvine: Later Mughals, pp.248-49.

practical wisdom allowed him to sue for peace. At this juncture, reconciliations of the conflicting interests of the Empire and of the Maratha imperialism was essential. Through this policy, he could save the prestige of the Mughal Empire as well as his own, and his bretheren estates in Rajputana. Though, the fact remains, that this settlement could not continue for long and ambitious Marathas could not restrain themselves to move further. After the death of Sawai Jai Singh, Ishwari Singh rendered all help to Mughal Emperor during Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion. But his family pressurised him to negotiate with the Marathas who ultimately dictated their own terms to the rulers of Amber.

Besides Jats and Marathas Jai Singh Sawai's role vis-a-vis Ajit Singh of Marwar and the Mughals paved the way for a settlement when the former revolted against the Mughals his relations with the Bundela state show that he on one hand, developed friendly ties with Chhatrasal; on the other, kept the imperial interest intact. On Jai Singh's request the Bundelas even supported Raja Girdhar Bahadur then at Allahabad, against the Saiyids.

By these illustrations, it is inferable that Sawai Jai Singh's role during the period of distintegration of Mughal Empire was constructive rather than destructive. Satish

Chandra in his concluding remarks has rightly observed that "the causes which were responsible for the conversion of the Mughal nobility from an instrument of integration into an instrument of disintegration of Mughal Empire. Individual failings and faults of characters also played their due role but they have necessarily to be seen against the background of these deeper, more impersonal factors".[1]

III

With a strong central authority, Mughal Empire swayed over territorial units of Empire but, as soon as the social and political forces started playing then role effectively, it led for further weakening the military potential and financial stability of the Mughal Empire which provided ample opportunity to local potentates to raise their heads and power. The slow and weak internal working of administrative institutions of central goverment were cause and effect entwined for the decline of the Mughal Empire.

The irregularities of central authority are found during the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign and onwards. As revealed in a wakīl report that "for a long time the

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1. Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-1740) pp.267-68.

diwān and bakshīs lost ground to the Khwaja. If the court is convened, then, only the diwān and bakhshīs come. In the whole month, four or five sessions of the court were summoned for a duration of two to four gharhi. Sometimes, even when, the requests were being read out, the court was adjourned.[1]

During this period, the enhancement in jāgīr and mansab depended mainly on the recommendation of effective groups. A large number of cases, therefore, were recorded by the wakīl of Sawai Jai Singh informing him about the pressure for money (muhimsāzi) prevalent in the court to get favours from the Imperial Court. Pancholi Jagjiwandas wrote to Mahārāja "everyone here is getting their work done through proper muhimsāzi. Even Raja Sabha Chand advised me to pay in advance to Nawab Amirul Umara (wazīr) Zulfiqar Khan. No work can be done without his consent. All the powers of the Emperor vested practically in the hands of nawāb. Similarly, Rāja Sabha Chand enjoys full authority on behalf of the nawab. Therefore, if both of them could be pleased together then our desired demands could be met successfully". Therefore, proper arrangement of money should

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1. Wakīl Report dtd. Miti Sāwan Vadi 5, V.S. 1762/20 Aug. 1705.

be made for them both.[1] The illustration was necessary to bring out clearly how money and the patronage of influential nobles at court was necessary to fulfil the required demands of Rajput Rājas. Jai Singh also did not lag behind and whatever, assignment he sought, he successfully got it. For example, the wakīl of Jai Singh succeeded in seeking the favour of Amirul Umara, Zulfiqar Khan and Imtiaz Mahal on Amber's control over pargana Hindaun.

A large number of arzdāshts provide us the information regarding the collection of dawwāb or Khurāk-i dawwab. This collection created a clash of interest between the state and jāgīrdār. When, Hidayatullah Khan, diwān-i-tan o Khālisa assumed the office of wazīr, he made an attempt to review the practice of dawwāb. Since the Mughal state was facing financial crisis, he instructed the mutasaddis of the office of the dawwāb to collect the amount of dawwāb from the wakīls of the 'umara.[2] The kotwāl was also instructed to collect it even if the force is to be used.

Though the collection of dawwāb was made from the leading nobles at the court and the Mughal State was keen to

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1. WR, Jyeshtha Vadi 1, 1769/May 10, 1712.
2. Arzdāsht dtd. Chatra Vadi 11, 1767/4, March, 1711.

realize it at any cost, the problem was, whether, it was to be deducted in advance or the jāgīrdār were to pay it afterwards i.e. getting the jagīr. An arzdāsht dated 1711, informs that the office of the diwān used to make deductions in the name of the dawwāb at the time of drawing up salary claim of each mansabdār. This appears to be possible keeping in view the jāgīrdāri crisis. The explanation given by Mahabat Khan to the darōgha of the office of dawwāb that since the amount of dawwāb deducted from the salary claim of the Rajput Rajas, they would pay the dawwāb provided they were issued the parwāna of jāgīr.[1]

Bahadur Shah was perhaps the last Emperor who saw to it that rules of branding of the horses were strictly followed. An arzdāsht informs that one fourth of Jai Singh's talab kept on pending until the dāghnāma was submitted to diwān office.[2] At the time of his appointment as faujdār of Ahmedabad Khora, he requested for some concessions in branding the horses for him and his birādari (men belonging to his clan) which was declined by prince Azimush Shan on

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1. G.D. Sharma: Vakil Report Maharajgan, p.25; Arzdāsht dtd. Jyestha Vadi 5, 1768/1711. Also arzdāsht dtd. Sawan Vadi 5, 1768/ 24 June 1711 informing the Maharaja that the order issued by the Emperor on the tajwīz of Muzaffar Jang left no alternative before the noble but to make the payment of dawwāb.

2. Arzdāsht dtd. Kārtik Sudi 14, 1768/ 3 Nov. 1711.

the plea that there was no previous tradition to grant any exemption to Mahārāja regarding the exemption of dāgh to him and his birādari.[1] After a great deal of correspondence Sawai Jai Singh succeeded in the grant of exemption for his birādari. This is not because of the fact that the diwān had accepted it in the normal routine, but considering group politics and the weaknesses of imperial administration Sawai Jai Singh succeeded in getting this concession only for one year.[2] This policy once adopted paved the way for further weakening the strength of imperial army. It also indicates the weakness of Imperial authority over the local chiefs.

Further, the relations of Mughal faujdār with his agents created problems under a stable administration. The rulers of Amber always gave due respect to the Mughal faujdār as is obvious in 1708, when Bahadur Shah confiscated the hereditary watan Amber in royal khālisa. Jai Singh sent instructions to his diwān Ramchand to hand over the possession of Amber to Hussain Khan without offering any resistance and asked him to treat the Saiyid

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1. Arzdāsht dtd. Māngsir Sudi 6, V.S. 1768/ 4 Dec. 1711.

2. Arzdāsht dtd. Paush Sudi 9, 1768/ 6 Jan 1711; Arzdāsht dtd Māgh Vadi 15, V.S. 1768/ 26 Jan. 1712.

and his official with all courtesy.[1] Further, instructions were extended to treat Shujaat Khan with due hospitality.[2] But a large number of chithis and parwanas of later period reveal the non-cooperation of 'amils and other officials of the pargana showing antipathy to these Mughal faujdars, who failed to maintain law and order in the parganas.[3] The practice of the jagirdar having faujdari rights over his jagirs buttressed his authority which could threaten the jurisdiction of the provincial governor as well as the central authority.

The rise of local magnates certainly gave a blow to the disintegrating Mughal Empire. It was not only confined to the expansion of Amber state through the acquisitions of large and fertile jagirs with the support of Mir Bakhshi, Khan-i-Dauran and other nobles, but it did extend to the rise of Bundi and Kota and other states in Rajputana. There appears to be no deliberate attempt on the part of these states to eliminate the Mughal Empire perhaps Mughals were still powerful enough to crush them. It could be felt by them that by now, Jai Singh was capable of pleading their

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1. Parwana of Jai Singh to Ramchand (diwan of Maharaja) Sudi 12, V.S. 1764/1707.

2. Ibid.

3. Chitthis, V.S., 1764,65,66/1707,08,09.

vested interest. As a result, the imperial power could feel the strengthof the regional and local elements emerging effective. Their growing power and resources based on caste and community relationship could prove detrimental to the interest of the Mughals.

Sawai Jai Singh's activities and diplomacy had derived the maximum benefits from both the orthodox and liberal section of the nobility. The group affiliations and court politics after Aurangzeb's death helped Sawai Jai Singh to enlarge his estate. The exemption from Khurāk-dawāb and the opportunities of sūbedāri of Malwa for Jai Singh and Gujarat for Ajit Singh met successfully due to Sawai Jai Singh position at the Mughal Court. We notice that just after the death of Aurangzeb, the wakīl of Mahārāja Jai Singh had approached Amirul Umara Asad Khan and succeeded to obtain the title of Mirza Rāja along with a mansab of 7000/7000 for Jai Singh after paying Rs.50,000 in cash along with 21 muhrs,[1] so was the case of Ajit Singh. This practice became widespread during the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. Wakīl Jagjiwan Das had agreed to pay Rs.75,000 to mīr bakhshī Mahabat Khan in order to get the signature of the

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1. G.D. Sharma: Vakil Reports Maharajgan, Introduction, pp.33-34.

said bakhshi in the yāddāsht.[1] Such cases of paying money in advance are replete in the arzdāshts of the wakīl.[2]

IV

Enough attention has been paid by the modern scholars on jāgīr system and the crisis therein.[3] With the growing number of the mansabdārs the crisis deepened. An interesting wakīl report records'. "The Emperor enquired about the number of Mughal mansabdārs. He was informed by the bakhshī that under Alamgir, the number of Mughal mansabdārs was 5000. It was 1200, during the reign of khuld-i-manzil (Bahadur Shah). And at present (in the reign of Farrukh Sujar), the number exceeded to 17,000. The bakhshis were then ordered to maintain 5000 Mughal mansabdars as per the tradition of Aurangzeb. When, it was found that the deduction in number would mean the loss of Mughal nobles, the original list of 17,000 was restored.[4]

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1. Ibid.

2. WR Jyestha 1768/1711 Wakīl wrote to Maharaja 'I have conveyed your demand to Amirul Umara. He had demanded money for making arrangements. Please write to me the money you wish to present.

3. Satish Chandra: Medieval India Society, the Jagirdari Crisis and the Village, Delhi, 1982, M. Athar Ali, Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, opc.cit.

4. Arzdasht dtd. Asōj Sudi 10, V.S. 1771/18, Sept 1714.

This passage is self-explanatory the tendency of generous grants of mansab after the death of Aurangzeb, assisted a crisis in the jāgīrdāri system. .The enormous increase in the number of mansabdārs resulted in more demand in pay claims. The wakīl, therefore, informs the Mahārāja in 1714, that the work of Kachehri had to be closed since the mansabdārs demanded jāgīrs in lieu of their salaries. At this time, over 400 crore dāms were due upon the state for payment to the mansabdārs; fifty one crore of arrears of revenue (sanvāti) were left uncollected in paibāqi, but none of the mansabdārs accepted jāgīrs against their pay claims.[1] The decision was therefore taken that mansabdārs be paid amounts equivalent to salary of half of their zāt ranks. We, are also informed that similarly the dāms (of pay) of other Hindu and Muslim nobles were in arrears.[2]

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1. WR dtd Chaitra Sudi 2, 1771/17 March, 1714.

2. Ibid. The arrears of salary claims (talab). If certain mansabdārs are given as follows:

1. Sawai Jai Singh	17,25,302
2. Abdullah Khan Husain Ali Khan Ibadullah Khan and Samsanudaula	20,00,00,000 to 30,00,00,000
3. Udot Singh	40,00,00,000
4. Kr Abhai Singh	5,25,00,000

Also see WR dtd Asōj Sudi 10, 1771/18, Sept. 1714.

Thus, large arrears of pay accumulated owing to proper jāgīr assignments.

Insecurity of pay claim made Ajit Singh agree to take 3,00,000 dāms from pargana Sorath in paibagi rather than to leave the claimed arrears (talab) pending.[1] Another arzdāsht reveals that Nizamul Mulk disbanded 1000 sawārs for there was no jāgīr to maintain them. An arzdāsht of March 1714, informs that Mahārājas salary claims from Amber and Deoti Sanchari worth dāms one and a half crore, seventeen lakh, twenty five thousand and two are in arrears. Nawab Qutbul Mulk, Amirul Umara, Mir Jumla and Khan-i-Dauran had two crore dāms in arrears, similarly, Ajit Singh and Udot Singh have four crore dāms.

Under these circumstances, there was opportunity for the ruler of Amber to obtain parganas of his choice as is obvious from his parwāna addressed to his wakīl at the Mughal court "you wrote to us to obtain the paibāqi (Khālisa land) of sūba Darul Khair (Ajmer) on condition of posting a force there. The paibāqi of the said sūba is of no use to us, because it is scattered and far away. The mahāls of Chatsu Mauzabad, Dausa and Niwai are situated close to our

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1. WR dtd. Baisākh Sudi 1, 1772/9, May 1715.

watan and zamīndāri mahāls. The Rajputs, who are to be posted, are already residing there (in the said mahāls) so that the zamīndāri should be administered and the forces may be kept ready for the service of the Emperor as desired. Bearing all this in mind, you should act according to the instructions given above. If the paibāqi is to be given to any agents, you should not hasten to accept ... you (wakīl) have said that you would obtain the mahāls of Toda Bhim, Toda Rāja Rai Singh etc. near the watan. It is hoped, you would give effect to this proposal".[1]

It is clear from the evidence, that after the death of Aurangzeb, Jai Singh was eager to obtain parganas close to his watan by all means. Mughal Court, keeping in view the support of the Rajputs, approved it. One of the parwāna (Persian) from Mughal Court addressed to Samandar Khan says.... "since Hastera etc. pargana Amarsar, suba Ajmer are near Amber; they must be connected with Amber.[2]

Notwithstanding the fact that the jāgirdāri crisis paved the way for fulfilling the desire of the rulers

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1. Parwāna (Persian) dtd. 23 Muharram 1131/ 15th Dec.1719, Miscellaneous Persian Papers; Arzdāsht (Hindi) from Sah Ram Chand (diwān) to Mahārāja dtd. Miti Māngsir Vadi 2, V.S. 1765/1709.

2. Parwāna (Persian) dated 1 Zi'alqād, 1131/ 15 Sept. 1719.

of Amber to expand their territories, the Mughal state did not give a free hand to Jai Singh to act at his own. The appointment of imperial officials like faujdārs and jāgīrdārs, who were either Muslim or belonged to classes other than Kachchwahas kept check and balances on the activities of Jai Singh and reported to the central authority, whenever they were harrassed by the Mahārāja or his agents.[1] The wakīl informs the Mahārāja about the complaint of Sabha Chand that "Mahārāja neither has removed the thāna from Sambhar as yet, nor has he given the revenue of jāgīrdārs of Mewat Akbarabad and Ajmer, even then, he expects for enhancement in jāgīr, Ajit Singh is safe since he is away while you are only 80 kōs away from Jahanabad. You are staking our watan without any reason. The Nawab (Amirul Umara) says that Rāja Ram Singh and Nawab Asafudaula had become brothers by exchanging turbans, I and Kunwar Kishan Singh had become brother. Keeping this in view, you have been granted mansab and title. You are considered to be the grandson of late Mirza Rāja yet you are creating problems.

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1. A few examples referred in Amber records and Khutūt-i-Mahārājgān may be cited a) Pirag Das Rathor, faujdār of Bahatri V.S. 1750/1693; b) Sukrullah Khan, faujdāri of pargana Nahar Khoh V.S. 1761/1704; c) Saiyid Husain Khan faujdār of Amber 1765/1708; d) Fakhruddin, faujdār of Sambhar 1767/1710; e) Wahid Khan, faujdār of pargana Fatehpur 1769/1712; f) Nawab Imtiaz Khan, faujdār of pargana Barath Sanghana.

We have been asking you since last four months to stop the non-cooperative activities. The late Mirza Rāja (Jai Singh) and Ram Singh had wished you to be in the Emperor's service; fulfil their wish,[1] and get whatever you want from the Emperor in lieu of this.[1] Such requests to Mahārāja were constantly reiterated[2].

In the beginning, Amber rulers acquired ijarās for a short term i.e. of two to three months in the early part of 18th century, but soon they found that constant renewal of ijāra may bear more fruits, so they keenly acquired them. So long as Sawai Jai Singh served the Mughal Empire as sūbedār or governor he was contented getting assignments. But soon he opted to acquire more and more parganas in ijāra close to his watan and began to consolidate his position. Pancholi Jagjiwan Das in 1712, informs the Mahārāja that "Aitiqad

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1. WR dtd Sāwan Vadi 2, 1768/5 Aug.1711; Also letter of Nawab Asad Khan to Sūbedār of Ajmer dtd. 11 Safar 1121/21, April 1709; Arzdāsht dtd. Shrāvana Vadi, 2, 1769 (July 9, 1712).

2. WR dtd Māgh Vadi 3, 1768/30 Jan.1711; Shah Qudratullah has instructed Maharaja to come to the Imperial Court from Ajmer the Prince (Azimush Shan) has managed the delay of the issue. It is, therefore, advisable to come to the Court. In your absence, the mutasaddis will manage the affairs of your state. Come immediately since your promotion and betterment depends upon the will of the Emperor. Also WR Asārh Vadi 5 1769/12, July 1712.

Khan grandson of Asafudaula has been appointed faujdār of Narnaul and I tried to obtain ijāras from him.... In compliance with the darbār's order. I have secured ijāras of many jāgirs held by the Umara (nobles). Pattas have been prepared and arrangements for furnishing the surety of some reliable sāhukār (banker) may be made so that I may obtain the pattas and send them to the darbār..... The pattas of Shujaat Khan's jāgir consisting of parganas of Amarsar; Mauzabad, Bhairana and Nagina under the sarkārs of Tijara, have been obtained with effect from Kharif crop... The patta jāgir of Hasan Khan Ghigada Khan worth 70,00,000 dāms in pargana Lalsot is ready .... the patta of jāgir of Muhammadabad alias Ghazi Ka Thana held in jāgir by Rai Ghasi Ram and Hidayat Kesh Khan waqia nigār kul is ready. This patta of Benehta held in jāgir by Jamal Mohammad etc. mansabdārs, valued at 4,00,000 dams is ready. The jāgirs of Badshahzada Aizuddin, Khan Jahan Bahadur, Azam Khan Bahadur Khan-i Dauran, Khan Jahan Bahadur's son and Khan Dauran Bahadur's son in Mewat. Jahan Bahadur wishes to establish friendly relations with the darbār. The mutasaddis say that the pattas for the ijāra of the jagirs of Khan Jahan Bahadur as well as those of his Kinsmen will be given as soon as the sureties are produced".

"The jāgīrs are situated close to his watan and extend from Akbarabad district to Mewat. The acquisition of ijāra for these jāgīrs will prevent a lot of quarelling. The holders of other (smaller) jāgīrs near the watan will readily agree to give them to us on ijara. Once these (biggers) jāgīrs have been taken on ijāra by the darbār. I have arranged with the mutasaddis of Badhshahzada Azizuddin to secure the ijāra of jāgīr in Perozpur, pargana Jhar. I shall report the result later".

"The Badshahi courtiers present policy is to accept whatever price they can get in case the rajas do not come to terms with the Emperor and so they are giving out such ijāras indiscriminately ... Now is the time to take as many ijāras as one can. Such ijāras will remain in force for three years. If the darbār misses the chance of getting these ijāras later on. When the Emperor has made a settlement (with the raja) it is doubtful if the jāgīrdārs will give out any ijāra then."[1]

Once the Jaipur rulers acquired these parganas it is very rare that they were taken back in imperial khālisa. Gradually, most of important parganas assigned to them in

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1. Arzdāsht by Pancholi Jagjiwan Das; Also Agrarian System pp.18-38 for the parganas taken in ijāra and jāgīr.

lieu of salary or on ijāras were absorbed in the watan area and shaped Jaipur State in 1726-27.

This large territory acquired from the Mughals was administered by him through sub assignments and sub leases. Most of these sub-jāgīrdār and ijāradar belonged to Rāja's own community who were basically zamīndārs. Thus becoming an asset for the rulers of Amber in beginning. But threatened its autonomy later. In the context of the Mughals, though there appeared to be no deliberate attempt to eliminate the authority of the Mughals but they stood for the cause of their masters (Mahārāja) against an external threat. The local magnates in the capacity of zamīndārs and ijāradārs having rich revenue resources could raise their head against the Mughals. And it became a difficult task for the imperial officials to collect the revenue from them through his agents.

The jāgīrdārs and ijāradārs slowly grabbed the revenue of the area assigned to them and claimed hereditary rights in Rajput states and led to further strengthening of the zamīndārs as a class. This left the land-owners and cultivators at the mercy of the new jāgīrdārs and zamīndārs.

To summarise, one of the important features of the first half of the 18th century appears to be a growing

tendency among the nobles to hold jāgīrs on permanent basis whether through assignment or lease. The emergence of bhumias, garhi and thikānas leading to rise of independent principalities. Their rise within the existing social structure is unique. And all this happened at the cost of the Mughal Empire.

The decline of the central authority contributed to another development that resulted in a peculiar relationship between the regional state of Amber and the mercantile classes. Amber, rulers received the financial support from the bankers and usurer at times voluntarily and others extorted by force. Most of the time this relationship benefitted.[1] This class of bankers monopolised agrarian economy and urban markets controlling the prices, standing for surety in case of ijāradārs and granting loans to the cultivators and the state. They monopolisedoffices and so on. Their investment in purchasing the land is not borne out

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1. The death of Azimush Shan on March 8, 1712 had caused considerable financial inconvenience as the local mahājans refused to lend money on credit to Jagjiwandas on the ground that they were not sure whether the purās of Lahore would he kept with them under the new regime; Arzdāsht dated Phalguna Sudi 11, 1768 (March 8, 1712); Also see arzdāsht from Pancholi Jagjiwandas to Mahārāja Jai Singh dated Shrāvana Sudi 15, 1769 (August 5, 1712). Contrary to this, the mercantile class supported the Mahārāja at local level with its resources.

from our evidence. In the second half of 18th century such a phenomenon however is visible.[1]

We cannot therefore completely divorce the decline of the Mughal Empire from that of the Amber state. In a way they were complimentory to each other. The sub-assignments and sub lease adopted by the Amber rulers in one way or other also distintegrated the power of Jaipur rulers. Though both of these process were not exactly simultaneous or parallel they were, however, at times overlapping or one paving the way for the other. This was so to say a vicious circle which tresspasses the limits of the period under purview and it was the charisma of Jai Singh's role that seemingly averted it for the time being.

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1. Dilbagh Singh: The State Landlords and Peasantsd, Chapter 7.

CHAPTER-10

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION AND ITS IMPACT ON AMBER

As a Mughal chief the Amber Rāja had the autonomy to run his *watan* as per his convenience. The nature of studies so far pursued led historians to believe even in such a case the administrative pattern of Rāja's *watan* would be uniform to the Mughal Empire at large.[1] Recent researches however not only proved the rule, but also brought forth the extent of similarities, tehir application and synthesis given the regional constraints.[2]

Revenue assignments were made by the Rāja from his own territory on the Mughal pattern these include *jāgīrs* (sub-assignments), *zamīndāris* and *ijāras* (sub-leases).[3]

These *jāgīr* too, were both conditional and unconditional i.e. the assignments to the local magnates *bhōmia*, *chaudhuri*, *patēl* etc. and Rājas own officials serving at the

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1. W.H. Moreland W.H.: *The Agrarian System of Muslim India*; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, *op.cit.*, Noman Ahmad Siddiqui, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*.

2. S.P. Gupta; *Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*.

3. *Arhsattas* of different *parganas* wherein the classification of villages, sub-assignments and the farmed out revenue is provided.

imperial court,[1] or at pargana level (alufāti jāgīr)[2] apart from the unconditional assignments to those who had rendered outstanding service (in'ām) or for charitable purpose (punya udik).[3]

The difference between the Mughal and the Rājas assignment system appears to be that Raja granted sub-assignment in lieu of salary for a short term subject to renewal from time to time. It is rare to find an evidence if a sub-jāgīrdār is assigned a jāgīr for a period of three years, instead the sanad had to be produced by the assignee for inspection and confirmation every year. Failure to

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1. Bhōmia is found to be synonymous to zamīndārs See S.P. Gupta and Shireen Moosvi: Bhōmi in the Territory of Amber, 1650-1760, PIHC, 1970. Also B.L. Bhadani, The Allodial proprietors? The Bhumias of Marwas IHR, Vol.VI, No.1-2, July 1979-Jan.1980.

2. Alufāti jāgīr was given to Rajas officials in lieu of salary. Also see V.S. Bhatnagar Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh 1688-1743 p.305, who erroneously defines alufāti jāgīr as assignment made to women.

3. See arhsatta pargana Chatsu 1730. Total number of mauzās in Rāja's jāgīr.

336

Puniya	Alufāti jāgīr	Rāja's Khālisa
19.50	88.75	227.75

Punya Udik	In'ām
16.50	1

produce sanad could lead to confiscation of jāgīr.

On the pattern of the Mughal jagīrdāri system an entire village (dar-o-bast) could be assigned to a single assignee, a part i.e. one fourth, one half or three fourth was assigned. The village could be held jointly (shirkat) by one or more than one assigness, while a portion of it may be retained in Mahārāja's Khalisa.[1] For example, in 1730 the salary assignment of village khijuria in pargana Chatsu, the salary assignment was shared by four persons:

1.	Chain Singh	Rs.1000/-	1/4 village
2.	Daulat Singh	Rs. 500/-	1/4 village
3.	Hukumat Singh	Rs. 300/-	No share
4.	Sangram Singh	Rs.2500/-	1/2

The tan or assessed income from a sub-assigned village was commuted on annual basis. For the purpose of payment of salary, the rulers of Amber introduced month-proportion, which was entirely different to Mughal month-proportion. Thus the arhsattas for different parganas suggest that in the deed of grant of each jāgīr whether it was ten monthly (dah māha), eight monthly (ath māha) or six monthly (chhe māha), the tan was entered, as also the qarār i.e. the

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1. For details see my article 'Relations of rulers of Ambers with their sub-assignees 1650-1750'; PIHC, Gorakhpur, 1990.

number of months during which the quota of sawārs and footmen required from a particular jāgīr was to be provided. This quota was calculated on an assessed income obtained by multiplying the tan by twelve and dividing it by the number of qarār months.[1]

The Jaipur Rājas began to assert the right of sovereignty and to emphasize that the tenure of their assignees depended on service and loyalty. A study of the contemporary evidence suggests, that in their turn, the jāgīrdārs began in course of time to claim their tenure by right of inheritance and could not be easily dislodged.[2]

It has been observed earlier that the chiefs who accepted the sovereignty of the Mughals had to submit pēshkash at different occasions. The amount of the payment was fixed. It could be paid in lump sum or in seasonal instalments.[3] Following the same tradition, the kachhwaha also demanded pēshkash as a mark of sovereignty from sub-assignees, sub-lesees, new zāmīndārs or the patēl, patwāri, other pargana officials or any new incumbent to office.

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1. Arhsattas of different years.

2. Chitthis of different years.

3. Ibid. Also see lakhtang documents for a number of years.

The nature of information contained in the arhsatta and awārija mutāliba provide the amount of pēshkash which by and large appears to be a regular payment. Distinction, may, however, be made between the pēshkash paid annually to the state as a mark of submission to the chief[1] and the

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1. It is descernable from the following table based on awārija mutāliba pargana Bahatri 1676 that there was a certain assumed income fraction over and above which enhanced the amount of pēshkash. It is also inferable that the Raja extorted the said amount irrespective of clannish affiliations.

CLANWISE PAYMENT OF PĒSHKASH TO THE RĀJA

CLAN	PĒSHKASH (Rs)
Rājāwat	1922
Kumbhāwat	525
Banbīrpota	468
Syombhpota	355
Hamīrde	218.11
Chauhān	161
Bhāti	143.07
Narūka	135
Dhirāwat	108.06
Solankhi	82
Rājghar	58.15
Pariwār	13.12
Kāyasth	8
Kumbhāni	x
Kumbhāni	x
Somesarpota	x
Gehlōt	x
Bargujar	x
Chandēl	x
Rāthor	x
Tunwar	x
Jādam	x
Jatu	x

amount of pēshkash collected as a perquisite under the Siwāi Jamābandi.[1] A sub-assignee had to pay both viz; the pēshkash as an insigna of submission and the additional amount, if there is any, was paid in kind.[2]

Besides pēshkash, jāgīrdārs and other officials and non-officials were required to pay nyota (at the time of the marriage of the prince and 1.5% (didhotra or one and a half) to the state. On the other hand, the jāgīrdārs, chaudhuri, patēl, patwāri, qanūngo, faujdār and other officials had other customary cesses to collect from the raiyat which is not within the scope of present study.

Similarly, on the Mughal pattern, these Rajput rulers did not hesitate to fix nazr or bhent (presents) at the time of tīka (accession), marriage or festivals. In pargana Udai

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Sodha	x
Sikarwal	x
Sisodia	x
Brahman	x
Banya	x
Chāran	x
Musalmān	x
Mina	x

1. Pargana-wise collection of Pēshkash from the Kharīf and Rabi harvests, See Appendix A at the end of the chapter.

2. For details of items offered as Pēshkash, See Appendix B of the chapter.

each member in the village and qasba had to pay Rs.2/- per house as nazr bhent to the mahārāja.[1] The panch however, paid the amount at lower rate (see Appendix A of the Chapter). It was exclusively the prerogative of the state to fix the amount.

In the army organisation, despite the absence of the use of the term mansab in Amber, which presumably was the imperial prerogative, the usage of hazari as a suffix to the name of an official is found.[2]

Deductions were charged from the salary of the assignee as in the case of Mughal mansabdārs. In our region being termed as mutāliba (state's financial claim), it included tafāwat khurāk ghora (fodder for horse), tafāwat ghair hazir (for absenting) masa'ādat (state loans) etc. Similar to the Mughal pattern deviation from these could lead to resumption of assignment.[3]

The framework of Rāja's nobility was constituted mainly by his clansmen for which reason they are found corroding the whole village set up. Evidence indicating conscious placement of these clans for larger chunks of land

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1. Yaddāsht Nazr Bhent Tīka of Shivji, Pargana Toda Bhiv (Bhim), VS 1802/1745.

2. Chēhra documents V.S. 1788/1731, see the details of Bhairav Das hazari.

3. Awārija mutāliba, pargana Bahatri, 1733/1676.

are replete.[1]

The numerical strength of the rest of the clans though not as strong as that of the Rāja's clansmen, it nevertheless gave a heterogeneous complexion to the nobility of the Raja as is seen under the Mughals through directly and indirectly preferring turanis sections of nobility while keeping in tact the heterogenous character.

The officials serving in the capacity of diwāns, amīns, 'āmils, karkūn belonged to such mercantile classes as the sāhs, bhayyas, kayasthas, mahajan, etc.[2] Their role in acting as guarantor of assignments exposed to them the weakness of landed elements. The assignments made to them in lieu of remuneration expanded through the acquisition of leases.[3] The emergence of this class would thus seem as pronounced as in the other part of the Mughal Empire.

As a Mughal jāgīrdār, the Rāja followed the rules and regulations sanctioned by the Mughal administration. He was answerable to the Mughal state regarding the revenue

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1. Awārija mutāliba, pargana Bahatri 1676.

2. See the detailed list of these officials provided in Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan, pp.187-210.

3. Undtd. Likhtang document.

administration. The practice of preparing the various *dastūr circles* appears to have continued till the end of the first half of the 18th century. A large number of *dastūr-ul 'amal* and *'amal dastūrs* fortunately have survived for the region of Eastern Rajasthan, which give a detailed account of taxation system of Eastern Rajasthan as also of the distant *pargana* having different *dastūrs*. As a result, a comparative study of the various *dastūr-circle* prepared in *Āīn* is possible.

The collection of land-revenue in cash was widely prevalent under the Mughals. In many *parganas* in the *dastūr* circles of Akbarabad and Ajmer, the bulk of revenue was collected in kind, and then converted into cash on the basis of their current prices. The *dastūrs* therefore were prepared in similar fashion. Thus there was schedule of cash rates applicable to one set of crops assessed under *zabt*, which was distinct to rates imposed on *jinsi crops*. It may also be noted that in Akbarabad and Ajmer *gaz-i-Sikandari* which was 2/3rd of *gaz-i 'Ilahi* was being used.

It is obvious from the *dastūr-ul 'amal* of 17th and 18th centuries, that the land tax varied with the status of the peasants, a class which was highly stratified during Mughal times.

Modern researches have also deduced that the dasturs differed considerably from revenue circle to revenue circle, and these of Agra as compared to Ajmer were higher because they were near the capital and effected by high prices of produce.[1]

The average collection of state revenue demand in dastūr-circles of eastern Rajasthan takes into consideration the tax payers which included all categories of peasants, which comes to 44.51 (state) and 66.57 (peasant). Thus the peasant in our region was in a position to pay 10% over and above the tax on crops (māl). In other words, he was left with a little more than half the produce, which appears to be more realistic.[2] It appears to be convincing that the Mughal administration looked at half the produce not as the standard, but as the maximum.

It has been examined how deep rooted influence of the Mughal revenue administration appeared to be on the land revenue system.[3] It was indeed a part of the Mughal administration. The system of taxation, method of assessment prevalent under the Mughals were widely adopted by Jaipur ruler except for a few innovation.

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1. S.P. Gupta, Magnitude of land Revenue Demand, PIHC, Calcutta, 1991.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

In the method of assessment, besides zabti, batai jinsi, Kankut (kut) etc, the system of lata, latee, latai or lat batai was very popular in Eastern Rajasthan. In case, the cultivator complained of unfair increase or over estimation in assessment he had a choice to reap the harvest, and keeping the grains in heaps weigh it. In fact, lata, was used at the time of realization when the crop was ready for assessment. Whether lata was an independent system of assessment or related with batai jinsi, is however not clear.

The Mughal Emperors also claimed to dispense justice to those who appealed to the imperial Court against their own chiefs seemingly to check deviations from the prescribed regulations. An arzdasht of 1711, refers about a complaint lodged with Princes Rafiushshan and Jahanshah regarding the illegal collection of peshkash by the Maharaja. The complaint was later on rectified by the Maharaja through his wakil.[1] Another complaint by the raiyat was entertained by the Emperor at Jahanabad in connection with the excess demand of revenue. The Emperor entrusted this case to

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1. Arzdasht Miti Sawan Sudi 6, Vs 1768/1711.

Kunwar Ram Singh.[1]

It is obvious that Amber ruler, if left to themselves, never wanted an interference of the central authority in their internal matter unless it was necessary.[2] The even Emperor issued instructions to Rājas officials prohibiting collection of

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1. Arzdāsht by Sridhar (amil) to diwan Kalyan Das dated Miti Baisakh Vadi 13, VS 1722/1665. "that the raiyat of pargana Rinsi had approached the emperor at Jahanabad regarding the excess demand of revenue. When enquired I found that in all 24 raiyat from different villages of pargana Rinsi went to Jahanabad. The details of the number and villages are as follows:

Name of village	Number of Raiyati
AKAIRA	6
MEWLI	1
KHANPUR	1
BAIKUNTHPUR	1
CHANDANI	3
SALEVA	7
PEROZPUR	3
GOHAN	1
BABUPUR	1

The raiyat appealed and informed the Emperor that we have produced 1600 mds of grain in Kharīf, half of which is taken by the state 8000 mds of grain are left. Further, deduction as seri, dastūr qanūngo and shahngi were made which amounted to 45000 mds. We are left only 3500 mds of grain. The Emperor handed over the case to Kumar Ram Singh who in consultation with the bhomia and raiyat will decide the matter. Attempt will be made in future, to check the raiyat directly approaching the Emperor. Also see Chithi Miti Phālgun Sudi V.S. 1721/1664 regarding a complaint lodged to the Emperor by the raiyat of Mundawar.

2. Khutūt Mahārājgan, V.S. 1749/1692; Parwāna, V.S. 1768/1711, Miti Sāwan Sudi, 6.

forbidden taxes in the Rāja's jāgīrs. A parwāna (Persian) of 6th April, 1721, from Mughal Court to the gumashtas (agent of jagīrdārs) and faujdārs[1] of parganas, Naraina, Amarsar Manoharpur, directs them not to demand the prohibited cesses, such as pēshkash, nazrāna and farmāish in these parganas which were in the jagir of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh. There is considerable evidence to indicate that the Rajas had made repeated efforts in instructing their pargana officials through the diwān to avoid complaints going to the Mughal court so that these might not invite direct interference of the imperial government. A chitthi from Kalyan Das and Hathi Ram to diwān Kalyan Das, regarding the exemption of 'taki (a cess) for which the raiyat had gone with a plaint (faryād) to the Emperor.[2] The Raja was supposed to extend all support and protection to the merchants. A copy of the chitthi, 1727[3] in the name of Raja Svodas Jai Jogi states "that Bheema Ji Bankveer etc Balocha lodged a complaint that they loaded salt on forty five camels to carry it to Jahanabad. We had Rs.225/- with us for the miscellaneous expenditure and also cloth and weapons

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1. Parwāna (persian), 19th Jamā'di- II, 2nd R.Y., Old Historical Records.

2. Chitthi Miti, Chait Vadi 3, VS 1722/1665; Chitthi from Kesho Rao to Megh Raj VS 1722/1665.

3. Chitthi qarār Miti Baisākh Sudi, 10 V.S. 1784/1727.

etc. valued Rs.245/- only. While carrying the salt we paid rāhdāri (custom duty) at village Gudhgaon in pargana Naraina. In the noon the aswārs of Larh Khan looted the whole thing and carried away the camels with him. Jorawar Singh Khangorot pursued him and three camels were caught behind since one of the camel was brought to Sambhar for sale to the thakur of Maharoth which we recognised. We told everything to Gulab Rai, 'āmil of Sambhar. That camel was retained at Sambhar. The details are already supplied to you.

Pargana officials should take proper action since they are the merchants from Delhi, luggage and camels are traced, they should be handed over to the merchants directly. Do the needful and every instructions should be followed strictly with all care".

The Mughal currency was completely regulated by the Kacchawaha rulers in daily transaction and trade etc. like silver rupee, copper paisa, copper tanka. Gold mūhr was also in vogue.[1] It was open to take bullion to the mint and get

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1. See Silver value of gold (rupee for muhr) and silver value of copper (takas per rupee) in S.P. Gupta Agrarian System op.cit., Appendix A & B, pp.313-316.

it converted into specie with a certain discount.[1] Mughal Emperors were very particular to see that there should be uniformity in currency in all the regions. Thus, Kalyan Das informs us "that Mohammad Saeed gurzbardār had left to see that newly issued Ālamgiri paisa should now be in prevalence replacing the old sikka. His spies are roaming all over. Who so ever is found to use the old paisa, his head would be saved and will be severly punished. You (pargana official) should take care in your pargana to implement the imperial policy. Every body should use Alamgiri paisa replacing the old one".[2]

Though the Mughals imposed their standard currency on all the regions yet in Rajasthan local currencies inherited from the previous regimes continued these were not minted in the imperial court. As in Eastern Rajasthan dām (which was totally different to Mughal dām i.e. 1/40th of a rupee) or similarly dugani in Western Rajasthan (were the copper coins used invariably in the collection of cesses). The value of local dām was 1/50th of the taka (copper). While the value of taka in relation to rupee varied from year to year and

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1. Arhsatta khazāna and potdār for different parganas.
2. Chitthi Miti Phālgun Sudi, V.S. 1721/1664

pargana to pargana.[1] Price variations effecting the baser metal rather than gold or silver. The main supplies appear to have been from the local copper mines like Khetri and Bairath. In our region, takās Aurangshahi/ Naurangsahi/ Alamgiri were widely prevalent. While other takās of different value are also also referred to.

Regarding the weights, used in this region, we have fluctuations in the number of sērs per man from one pargana to another. The Akbari man survived curiously enough as a man of 30 sers (and not, as originally, as a man of 40 sers, each ser of 30 dam-weights); similarly, the Jahangiri man was preserved as a man of '36 sers', the standard man (Shahjahani) was of '40 sers'.[2]

It seems that the area figures in our records are given in bigha-i daftari. The bīgha based on it was two-third of the gaz-i Ilahi. The length of the dōri consisted of 75 hāth (i.e., kacchi dori and 95 hāth (pakki dōri), which would make the square based on the former about 62.3% of square based of the latter. The ratio accords closely with that borne by bīgha daftari to bigha 'Ilāhi.[3]

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1. Agrarian System, op.cit., Appendix B-2 p.313-16.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

The impact of the Mughal administration is found even in the local records maintained by Mahārāja's office which were based on Persian terminology. This is obvious since the Mughal administration was always keen to obtain detailed information of every region, its crops, extent of cultivation, agricultural and non-agricultural production, prices etc. for the purpose of revenue administration.[1] Thus, dastūr-ul 'amal, taqsīm, raqbabandi, yaddāsht, muwāzana, nirkhbāzār, parwāna, arzdāsht etc. though written in Hindwi were actually Persianized Rajasthani. Even, in the later half of 18th century, the linguistic impact of Persian could much more be felt as compared to Marathi. Further, the use of Hijri era along with Vikrami Samvat on the documents was an impact of the Mughals. Though at a later stage the mention of Hijri era was dropped while retaining Samvat era, exclusively.

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1. Chitthi, Miti, Phālgun Vadi 10, V.S. 1721/1664. From Shobha Chand Akbey Raj (pargana offcials) to diwān Sri Kalyan Das that "Padshah ji ordered to prepare taqsim. So prepare it for ten years. Whatever is recorded about mal of six and seven months, the same should be specified. If there is any famine year, then write scarcity. If anybody else writes to you about taqsīm, tell him that it has been sent to Maharaja Kunwarji and console him and inform me accordingly. You prepare taqsīm incuding hijari year 1068. Gopi Nath qanūngo has said that he has submitted it in the kachehri of the Emperor (Pādshah Ji) for three years beginning from 1069 to 1071 and seven years of the preceding years".

Studying Sawai Jai Singh's work as administrator, one is struck by the fact that he tried to enlarge his authority by the use of, and within the limits of, the traditional framework the Empire - the clan, the principality, one does not find much innovation.

Yaddāsht Nazr Bhēnt Tīka of Shriji
Pargana Toda Bhiv V.S. 1802/1745

Appendix A

total (mu) houses 4104
total (") Rs. 7671.8.8
Wāsil till miti mangsir Sudi 15,3703.8.0
Banqi 3968.0.2

Qasba Toda Bhiv (Bhim) houses 1188 =
amount received in rupees 1837.8.2

Remark: Pachauni Girāi wa Mai tām raiyati ka jama' Brāhman musalmān, Rajput, Mina are not counted in the following list of Nazr prayers mentioned in the document.

S.No.	Name of clan/caste	No. of houses	Amount Paid
1.	Panch Chaudhry Mina	101	151
2.	Panch Mahajan	308	425
3.	Panch Gujar	11	20.12.0
4.	Panch Kanugoh	-	66.5.0
5.	Agarwāla	28	34
6.	Kāyasth	17	23
7.	Khandelwal	7	9
8.	Kamani (Kamin)	1	2
9.	Panch Keer	5	8
10.	Panch Dakot	7	11
11.	Seelwāt	13	26
12.	Qasāi Palladar	55	75
13.	Doom Gulābi	4	7
14.	Kalāl	16	32
15.	Darzi	17	26
16.	Sunār	36	52
17.	Batwāl	6	6.8.0

18.	Rahmi musalman	1	1.7.2
19.	Mochi	8	15
20.	Khati	7	13.4.0
21.	Mithāra	11	21
22.	Kunjrha	1	2
23.	Thathēra	2	3.4.0
24.	Māli	47	80
25.	Doom Mina	11	11
26.	Kumhār	9	14
27.	Chamār	72	97
28.	Kaprhi	27	46
29.	Lilghar	2	4
30.	Basaidar doom	1	2
31.	Julāha	42	84
32.	Sabnigar	2	4
33.	Basaidar Kheni	48	88.7.0
34.	Kachera	5	8.10.0
35.	Seeka	6	12
36.	Kauli (koli)	54	81.1.0
37.	Lakhera	4	7
38.	Pakhawji doom	3	4
39.	Kadēra	30	56
40.	Chhipi	8	15
41.	Taili (Teli)	24	44
42.	Barhbunja	12	22
43.	Khatik	3	6
44.	Sikhgar	6	9
45.	Barhi	44	88
46.	Rajput Musalman etc.	2	3.3.0
47.	Nāi	29	58
48.	Luhār	11	22
49.	Gavi	2	4

S.No.	Name of villages	No. of houses	Amount Paid
1.	Karauli	44	92
2.	Karidi	50	100
3.	Kutubpur	21	42
4.	Manehti	7	14
5.	Kurheda Khurd	40	80
6.	Kurhera Buzurg	9	18
7.	Kurhla Buzurg	5	10
8.	Kishorpur	2	4
9.	Karanpur	11	22
10.	Kilanpur	11	22
11.	Kayampur	9	18
12.	Kurha Khurd Ta. Barhedar	18	36
13.	Khohranu	144	288
14.	Khedirmala	24	48
15.	Khirhkari	27	54
16.	Khanpur	16	32
17.	Garhi Ta Barhdar	9	18
18.	Govindpur	8	16
19.	Gopalpur	25	50
20.	Godrapur	16	32
21.	Nabipur	7	14
22.	Nanipur	13	26
23.	Naharkhora	41	82
24.	Nagalmicha	55	110
25.	Nadrhi	52	104
26.	Navagaon	11	22
27.	Navavadpur	11	22
28.	Nagneh	35	70
29.	Naurangbarha Mina	13	26

30.	Naurangbarha Gujar	10	20
31.	Chandira	15	30
32.	Chandusah	35	62
33.	Jauli	54	108
	1) Braman Valda etc.	19	38
	2) Patwari	35	70
34.	Jainsi	8	16
35.	Jarkhati	11	22
36.	Pharhan	96	192
37.	Tudoli	4	8
38.	Turkpur	2	4
39.	Tirsuli	60	120
40.	Dadanpur	85	170
41.	Parhila ka Jatwarha	4	8
42	Parivsalha	15	30
43.	Pilwa	10	20
44.	Patoli	15	30
45.	Pipalharha	122	244
46.	Parhilanbhira	34	68
47.	Pakhiripavali	46	92
48.	Faunjelpur	12	24
49.	Fatehpur	6	12
50.	Birauz	87	174
51.	Bakhera	32	64
52.	Basahrhi	16	32
53.	Beeru	10	20
54.	Birpur	60	120
55.	Balwarhi	60	120
56.	Bisala		
	1) Bralarh	20	40
	2) Mujpur	95	191
57.	Maspur	19	38
58.	Magolipur	12	24

59.	Mohpur	5	10
60.	Barhrani		
61.	Bharangpur	15	30
62.	Bhura	10	20
63.	Bhainsa	19	38
64.	Bhula Herhi	4	8
65.	Mirzapur	10	20
66.	Mudipur	17	34
67.	Madvarha	35	70
68.	Manrupur	21	42
69.	Mararhu	31	62
70.	Macheri	20	40
71.	Manroj	30	60
72.	Makhakhoth	25	50
73.	Marerha	30	60
74.	Mithapur	7	14
75.	Ramner	16	32
76.	Rasulpur	5	10
77.	Ramavarha	35	70
78.	Raopura Mina	18	36
79.	Lakhanpur	12	24
80.	Sikrai Buzurg	360	600
81.	Sikrai Khurd	55	110
82.	Sankarpur	15	30
83.	Sujanpur	19	38
84.	Sairakhan	25	50
85.	Sakarbarha	6	12
86.	Subhanpur	8	16
87.	Sarhar	11	22
88.	Suragpur	4	8
89.	Higua	75	150
90.	Higai	35	70
91.	Husainpur	25	50

92.	Hasilpur	12	24
93.	Habibpur	6	12
94.	Alahyarpur	41	82
95.	Azizpur	25	50
96.	Anandpur	25	50
97.	Ibrahimabad	18	36
98.	Idalpur	30	60
99.	Atraherha	12	24
100.	Hashimpur Ta. Barhdar	12	24

Appendix B

Siyāh nazr peshkash
Dtd Jyestha Sudi 4, Thursday 1770
Jama'tehvīl Gulab Rai
Tehvīldar nazr pēshkash

Nagd	Thān	Rēza	Tola	Zanjīr	Rās	Zīn
282	229.8	3	4.61	1	4	2.10.3

Tīka of Dhiraj Singh Khichi of Narel at the occasion of engagement of Shri ji.

Thān	Tōla	Zanjīr	Rās	Zīn
227	4.6.1	1	4	2.10.3

Tehvīl Bhagirath 1) Kirkirikhāna

Thān	Nārel coconut	Supāri betelnut
10	1	5

S.No.	Variety of Cloth	Unit	Prices (Rs)	Remarks
1.	Chira Mukeshdozi	1	12	
2.	Alam Zari	2	87	1)-55 2)32
3.	Phero Gujrati	3	97	1) 55 2)32 3)10
4.	Mashru Butādar	3	57.12	1) 25 2)18.12 3)14
5.	Mahmudi Chikandôzi	1	35	
6.	Kurta Zari	1	70	

Narel etc of Gold

Thān	Price
4.6.1	Tola 11 Pana 6.

Narel	Supari
3.8.1	9

2) Filkhāna

Zanjir Than

1 13

(Siyāh Khuaki nathni)

Than 13

was received by Tehvildar Man Ram
Unit 13 - Rs.24.3

S.No.	Variety of trappings	Unit	Prices (Rs)	Remarks
1.	Jhul Suglāt purani	1	25	
2.	Thashri Suglāt	1	4	
3.	Kalāwa Shutr	1	1.8	
4.	Rasa Shutr	1	1	
5.	Ghant Bharti tukmi	8	2.5	
6.	Sānkal	1	8.2	

3) tabēla ghora

Ras Than

4 47

fodder for horses Rs. Ras

2700 4

4) tehvīl Nathuram Zinkhana

1) Gold zins Unit 3 price 286.12

including jot (pān, kursi, mujma, painak) and dumchi (mujma, painak, chorohi)

2) Rūpa zins Unit 10

including
1) jot 3 110.13
2) dumchi 3 64.4
3) peshbandh 3 42.9
4) Sānkli 1 17.6

3) Other equipments Rakht Unit 34 price 23.3

including 1) Palpōs
2) Singhāna
3) Faroki
4) Lagām
5) Zerband Sutr
6) Choti
7) Vong Saklat
8) Chot (of coloured cloth)

5) Kitchen Rasoi

Man	Unit	Paisa
2.711	134	3

including 1) Nārel
2) Supāri
3) Sunghāra
4) Doda
5) Lon
6) Dokh
7) Chunhara
8) Panasa
9) Mishri
10) Bidām

6) For distribution as alms Nichrāwli

Rs	Unit	Reza
282	2. 1/2	3

7) Cash Naqd

Rs	Mashru (thān)
282	2. 1/2

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 'A'

Muwazana dahsala (ten years) pargana Niwai Mauza 26

Deducting Mauza 4 named Piplu etc., whose area (raqba) has not been received from Tonk.

Baqi Mauza 52 Area - 310342

Deducting pargana udik

Mauza 2

(1) Mauza Mudoli Area 2375

(2) Mauza Manpuro Area 2000

Baqi Mauza 50 Area - 305967

Further deducting area 49734

Details as follows

(1)	Usarva (name of the village), new village was founded under which the area includes dingar (hilly and slopy area), khal and nal (nullah) are comprised bigha	44270
(2)	Varhdār (a person having watch and and ward of the village)	4894
(3)	Chowkāyat (watchman) area qasba Niwai	450
(4)	Bagayāt (gardens) qasba Niwai area	120

The remaining cultivable (lāyaq-ul-zarāit) bīgha 256233

Muqarra jama' according to Jama'bandi

Samvat	Jama'	Kharif	Rabi'	Tankhwāh Jagirdār (assigned)	Khalisa
1789/1752	90920.6.0	40830.6.0	50090.0.0	38034.4.0	52886.2.0
1790/1753	88392.3.2	38199.1.2	50193.2.0	38647.0.0	49744.10.0
1791/1754	90277.14.0	40261.9.0	50016.5.0	43776.15.0	46500.14.0
1792/1755	107475.15.0	36170.1.0	71305.14.0	34357.15.0	73117.12.0
1793/1756	86494.4.0	40212.3.0	46282.1.0	46895.3.0	39599.1.0
1794/1757	101886.6.0	43810.13.2	58075.7.0	45814.15.0	56071.5.2
1795/1758	11007.14.2	38912.6.2	71095.8.0	38782.15.0	71224.15.2
1796/1759	96944.7.2	42798.6.0	54146.1.2	45146.7.0	51788.0.2
1797/1760	97047.11.2	41386.7.0	55661.4.2	44465.6.0	52582.5.2
1798/1761	87602.13.2	38697.11.0	48905.2.2	44367.0.0	43235.13.2

Qasba Niwai Raqba bigha (total area) pakki dori bigha 30525 muwafiq (kachhi dōri) bigha 48000.

Deducting area 13400 for the newly settled villages as written below:

Village	Area
Mukundpura	1,000
Jugalpura buzurg	1,000
Jai Singhpuro	2,500
Ram Singh pura	1,000
Bisanpra	1,500
Gopi Nathpura	1,500
Maharajpuro	1,000

Ruppuro		1,800
Govindpuro		2,100

Baqi bigha 34,600

Deducting area under usar (rough) etc.

area 11220 as per details:

(1)	Village founded	area	600
(2)	Dugar	area	4,000
(3)	talab (tank)	area	1,000
(4)	Khal nal	area	1,000
(5)	Usūr	area	1,500
(6)	Thala	area	2,000
(7)	Virjhiro (bushes etc)	area	1,000
(8)	Baqayāt (gardens)	area	120

The remaining cultivable area (layaq-ul-zarait) 23,380

Deducting udik inam (charity and gift)

area 4,000
Baqi bigha 19,080

Further deducting bigha 1300 in connection with Varhdār and Chowkayat

Varhdār 850

Chowkayat 450

Year (Samvat and A.D.) V.S.	Jama'	Kharīf	Rabi'
1789/1732	11,241.8.0	4,241.4.0	7,000.4.0
1790/1733	10,351.5.2	3,700.2.0	6,651.3.2

1791/1734	9,742.6.0	4,266.4.0	5,474.3.0
1792/1735	11,840.15.0	3,160.5.2	8,680.9.2
1793/1736	9,545.13.0	3,846.10.0	5,699.3.0
1794/1737	13,026.1.0	4,138.2.2	8,887.14.2
1795/1732	14,200.9.0	4,799.8.2	9,401.0.2
1796/1739	10,642.3.2	4,041.10.0	6,600.9.2
1797/1740	10,365.0.0	3,781.8.0	6,583.8.0
1798/1741	8,696.11.0	3,393.2.0	5,303.9.0

Mauza Jagatpuro raqba bīgha dori pakki 1,000 muwafiq (kacchi dori) 1,500

Deducting ushr etc. area 100

baqi bigha 1400

muqarara hisāb

Year	Jama'	Kharīf	Rabi'
1789/1732	387.9.0	182.5.0	205.4.0
1790/1733	433.15.0	177.14.2	256.0.2
1791/1734	473.4.0	171.7.0	301.11.0
1792/1735	577.12.0	198.0.0	379.12.0
1793/1736	444.3.0	208.0.0	236.6.0
1794/1737	478.10.0	177.12.2	300.14.0
1795/1732	556.8.0	185.7.2	371.0.2
1796/1739	648.10.0	267.8.0	381.2.0
1797/1740	413.8.0	175.10.0	237.8.0
1798/1741	368.8.0	192.12.0	175.12.0

APPENDIX 'B'

WAKIL REPORT (Rajasthani)

Calendar no. - 40

Addressed to - Maharaja Jai Singh

Name of the writer - Panchauli Jagjiwan Das

Dated - Chaitra Vadi 9 V.S. 1769/16 April 1712

Language - Hindi

Summary:

Informs that Nawab Amirul Umara took him to Emperor's presence in the tasbīh khana and he (wakīl) presented five muhurs. Provides the details of wājib ul arz accepted by the Emperor as follows:

Congratulates (the Mahārāja) for the confirmation of the little of Sawai, and the mansab of 7000/7000.[1]

Reports that "on Chaitra Vadi 5, before the execution of Azim ush shan, negotiations were made for about ten days. On this date, Jahan Shah sent a message that the mulk and booty be distributed as per the tradition of the sons of Timur. Later Jahandar Shah was killed along with one of his son. Two younger sons of Jahan Shah were arrested".

"Jahandar Shah and Rafiush Shan later entered the palace with great rejoicing. On the night of the same day Jahandar Shah sent a message to Rafi ush shan that 'hitherto

Kabul had been with you. I wish you to either take east (purab), which was formerly with Jahan Shan or South (Dakhin). Rafi usshan replied that 'God has discriminated man from man by bestowing kingship. Hence the battle will take place at the time of morning prayer. The arsenal remained active for the whole night. After some time both Jahandar Shah and Rafi us shan rode to their destination and fought with both gun and arrow".

"On Chaitra Vadi 7, 1769/14 April Monday 1712 two ghari at the day - break army of Rafi ush Shan hastened to the battle field. So long as Rafi ush shan continued shooting arrows he was safe but later he himself was hit by an arrow and was killed. His elder son Sultan Ibrahim was also killed while the two younger sons were arrested. Thus after executing the elder sons of the three princes (Jahan Shah, Azimushan and Rafi ush shan) now Jahandar Shah has become the Emperor and occupied the throne".

"Please send money for the darbār kharch either to (Bhikhari) Das or the mutassadi along with some favours for himself for having secured mansab and title for you.

Reports that he pleaded Ajit Singh case at the court. Complains that inspite of having secured assignment of Jodhpur, title and mansab for Ajit Singh he was removed from the wakālat of Jodhpur by Ajit Singh.

Continues with the aftermath of the battle by saying "Amirul Umara was hit by an arrow in the head. Rustam Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan were beheaded. Orders were issued by the Emperor to get the news of those persons who had fled away with Azim ush Shan, Jahan Shah and Rafi ush Shan.

APPENDIX 'C'

The following document provides detail on the salary of Mirza Rāja Jai Singh while he had the mansab of 5000/5000 the assignments made to him and the obligations and deductions against his salary.

سیاهه ...... بمهر ملتفت خان

تقرب [illegible] ...... مرزا راجه جی سنگه

غره ربیع الاول ۱۰۴۸ سنه ۱۱ شاهجهانی ۱۶۳۸ ع .

الله اکبر

یوم الثلثا غره شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۱ جلوس همایون مبارک موافق سنه ۱۰۴۸ هجری مطابق ۲۲ ماه تیر الهی

[illegible] اقتضاء خلافت [illegible]

[illegible] القاهره [illegible] الدولة الباهره

[illegible] وزرای رفیع المکان زبدة

[illegible] افضل خان و نوبت

[illegible] احمد [illegible] آنکه حکم

[illegible] جاگیر [illegible]

[illegible] پنج هزاری ذات و سوار سرافراز

[illegible] است بتفصیل ذیل مقرر و مفوض باشد بموجب دول جاگیر [illegible]

[illegible]

22/b

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] سوار

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

مقرره [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] بابت اضافه [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

۱.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ۱

[illegible] سلطانات

[illegible]

امیر [illegible] صوبه اجمیر

[illegible]

[illegible] صوبه [illegible] آباد

[illegible]

مفصل جمع نمبر ۱

[illegible]

سرکار صوبه اکبرآباد

سرکار الور

[illegible]

شاه‌پور [illegible] صوبه اجمیر [illegible]

[illegible]

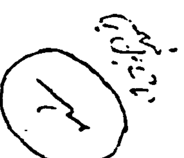
... [illegible] ... موافق دفتر حال

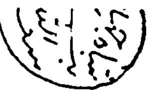
مقرر است ... [illegible] ... سرکار ... صوبه اجمیر ... [illegible]

[illegible]











صحیح الوصول

تفصیل است مخارج عمده داران

تحریراً فی ۱۵ شهر ربیع الثانی ۱۱۲

مطابق سنه ۱۰۳۸

APPENDIX 'D'

Chehra documents are related to identification of infantry (piyada), musketeers (barqandaz) and officials under the head of contingent (jamiatdar). These documents cover the name, surname, age, domicile, caste, distinguishing features, remuneration and tenure of service.

श्री आस्योज वद ५ वी श्रीनीं राजश्री आ

रसपत गारक ३४६२ सोजत सोमचंद

वरकेदाजनामे १५

नाह २४४॥ ६३॥ मु ६

३०॥

रामरतनजीवरकेदाग

६२०॥ मु नमे १२३४

६३॥ मु ६

४०॥

२०४॥

सावा ७९८८ ११८

मैयुनीकरी २

२

वी॰ आरीरामबुध स्मध
शके मनाजशापीताबु
देळावासी कुदेळबकळी

पु॰ श्री॰-डीश्रीरगीपाय वे॰झ न्हीरामसरीराव
मुवारीसुपेद्वरान्सु शावुश्र स्पध ज्ञानीता
मीदागसरज्ञारता॰ उमरवरसी ५७ झी
घौडानजनदवेदाग

रा॰

पारमीतिमि-कुलीवाद १
पानगारमै ७२८ |

नि॰र॰ओ॰ब॰ १ घीगा

राम

संवत १७८८

चहुवानगादी

वरडदाज 3

बा॰श्रीराम

रनजीतमानी बा॰मनीरामदेवादा

ऊमंगमादीतान्वोहातो अकारनालन्यंकआपो

बा॰ द॰ ताचोहागबा॰४५

खो। सदआरखेसम | खो। महमदबकअलै
हमदकशाहमहमद | रमहमदशाहम
शापोताकेदख। आज | मदशापोताकेदख
मेरसाखा। ३२ | आजमरसाखा। २६

खो। मुघोसंअमनी | खो। तुकीराममन
रामनाअनीदास्तुरा | रामदादेसीदास्त
पोताचोहाएावा। आ | पोताचोहाएावा।
जमरसाखा। २८ | आजमनसाखा। २५

२१८

संवत १७८८

महाराजकुदीवरखंदा

जबी श्रीराम हजारी ४

सोन्बा ऐदमनीरामका। दोसमुहमदवकीमु

देबीदासकापोता। मदका।पीरमुनदका।

मुहा।पासीमेज पोता।सेजवासी

मेरका।बरस२२ काजमेरका।बु२४

जमाअब्यामानजह। मनसारामराजा।

का।गोदरधाका।पोता। मका।संदरामकापो।

पनारा।वासीमेज गोबोहा।पासी

मेरकबरसपचका। काजमेरबरस२४

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बरीसालकापोत । का कीका । कापोत
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सीवुदेकबनका । रबरस २२
बरस ४६

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कछमदकापोता । बा पोतामबबासीअ
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ता ओषवासी आजमेर पी तावैसवा० ळषक
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नावनाथ रीदासना
पोता मोहालावासी
अजमेर नावूसनर

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APPENDIX D 2

[illegible]

सुसा [illegible] कोराम
चेह्णोपोतो [illegible]

३)

चैनौउदा [illegible] को
पोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

चाहो- [illegible] मको [illegible]
कोपो [illegible]

३)

टेको [illegible] को [illegible]
पोतो [illegible]

३)

पेगोजा [illegible] रामको [illegible]
कोपोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

वेणो [illegible] को [illegible]
मपोपोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

[illegible] को [illegible]
[illegible] पोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

गोगो [illegible] को [illegible]
नाकोपोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

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[illegible] चैनाको [illegible]
ह्णपोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

[illegible] रामकोनहा
कोपोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

[illegible] को [illegible]
पोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

[illegible] को [illegible]
पोपोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

वोगो [illegible] को [illegible]
पोतोणीगो [illegible]

३)

[illegible] को [illegible]
पोतोणीगोचा [illegible]

३)

देहैफरदपादीदासलीदास जमनीनानीगजीव
नीमिसारमीनीमानोदि. गिक्षकोहारजामपतद।
नवतापदर हेता.पाकुकमकमीकी।
रपारानकाल.पी.को।

हैवारउ प्रचहैवाग।
गसीवाग कामका।
होताकोहारक्षाप्रवृ।

हैपारीदासोवाककर।
नीवसाधवदीनरक।
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३) ३)

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लीन्योगी ६)

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	Baswa	1705-1713
	Kaman	1721/1664
	Malarna	1711
	Naraina	1711-1720
	Pahari	1768-1775
	Rewari	1664-1665
	Ujjain	1774-1775

   Arhsatta bābat ijāra for different *parganas* and years

   Arhsatta bhōmi for different *parganas* and years

   Arhsatta imārat kharch V.S. 1751/1694

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   Arhsatta silēhkhāna Asārh Vadi 8, 1800 to *Bhādva Sudi* 2, 1800.

3. *Arzdashts*

   Phālgun Vadi 12, 1767/3 Feb. 1711

   Phālgun Sudi 12, 1767/19 Feb. 1711

   Chaitra Vadi 11, 1767/4 March 1711

   Asārh Sudi 5, 1768/10 June 1711

   Sāwan Vadi 3, 1768/22 June 1711

   Sāwan Vadi 5, 1760/24 June 1711

   Bhādva Sudi 3, 1768/6 Aug 1711

   Bhādva Sudi 14, 1768/14 Sept 1711

   Asōj Vadi 7, 1768/23 Sept 1711

   Asōj Sudi 15, 1768/15 Oct 1711

   Kārtik Sudi 12, 1768/1 Nov 1711

Kārtik Sudi 14, 1768/3 Nov 1711

Māngsir Sudi 6, 1768/4 Dec. 1711

Māngsir Sudi 8, 1768/6 Dec. 1711

Paush Sudi 9, 1768/6 Jan 1712

Māgh Sudi 1, 1768/27 Jan 1712

Māgh Sudi 9, 1768/5 Feb 1712

Phālgun Vadi 5, 1768/16 Feb 1712

Phālgun Sudi 16, 1768/11 March 1712

Māngsir Vadi 9, 1769/6 Dec 1712

Asōj Sudi 10, 1771/18 Sept 1714

6. Awārija mutāliba pargana Bahatri V.S. 1733-1744/1676-1677

7. Chēhra naqdi dtd Kārtik Vadi 2, 1788/1731

"	barqandāz	1768/1731
"	Shagirdpēsha	1746/1689
"	Mīna Pattadā	1838/1781

8. Chitthi dtd Phālgun Vadi 1721

Baisākh Vadi, 13 V.S. 1722
1722

Sāwan Sudi, 1 1722

Jyestha Sudi 5, 1724

Baisākh Sudi 11, 1725

Baisākh Sudi 10, 1736
1743
1744

Sāwan Vadi 3, 1768

Māgh Vadi 7, 1769
1769
1770
1775

Asārh Vadi 14, V.S. 1781

Baisākh Sudi 10, 1784

Asārh Sudi 3, 1787
Māgh Sudi 15, V.S. 1787
1801
1804

Chaitra Sudi 2, V.S. 1844

9. Dastūr Komwar Vol.I, VII, VIII & XI

10. Farmān addressed to Mirza Rāja Jai Singh dtd

28 Zi'alqad 1039/29 June 1630

9 Rajab 1041/21 Jan 1632

4 Rabi' I 1042/9 Sept. 1632

7 Safar 1047/21 June 1637

27 Zilhajj 1047/2 May 1638

5 Shawāl 1053/7 Dec 1643

19 Zi'alqad 1656/17 Dec 1696

12 Rajab 1060/1 July 1650

29 Jamādi II 1068/24 March 1658

27 Rabi' II 1076/27 Sept 1665

29 Rabi' I 1126/13 March 1716

11. Jama' Kharch Tōpkhāna 1783/1726
Shuturkhāna V.S. 1874/1817
Zīnkhāna V.S. 1774/1717 and 1775/1718
Pālkikhāna V.S. 1800/1743

12. Likhtang dtd 1767/1710
1778/1721
1779/1722
1805/1778

13. Muwāzna dahsāla pargana Lalsoth
Amber
Chatsu
Bahatri

14. Nishāns dtd. 14 Rajab 1064/2 May 1654

24 Ramzān 1064/29 July 1654

21 Jamādi II 1068/16 March 1658

25 Jamādi I 1093/22 May 1682

15. Parwāna dtd 14 Safar 1117/7 June 1706

12 Sudi 1764/1707

23 Zi'alqad 1131/15 Sept 1719

23 Muharram 1131/15 Dec 1719

Miti Māgh Sudi 15, V.S. 1787/1730

16. a) Rōznāma Qasba Amber dtd 17, Muharram 1100 to 30 Muharram 1096

b) Rōznāma Zinkhana Bhādva Sudi 3, 1785/1727

17. Siyāh dtd 5 Jamādi 1101/15 Feb 1690
Siyāh tabela Sanganer dtd Bhādva Sudi & Asārh Vadi

4, 1780/1723
1, 1780/1723

Siyāh tasīha Muqām Lahore 1733/1676
Siyāh Silēhkhāna dtd Māgh Sudi 8, 1793/

18. Wakīl Reports Persian dtd

8th Jamādi II 1092 A.H./2 July 1681

8 Ramazān 1092/22, Sept 1681

3 Shawāal 1092/16, Oct 1681

7 Shawaal 1092/20, Oct 1681

3 Rabi I 1093/12, March 1682

2 Jamadi II 1093/8, June 1682

4 Jamadi I 1094/31, April 1683

10 Jamadi II 1094/16, June 1683

3 Shaaban 1094/28, July 1683

10 Shawaal 1094/2, Nov 1683

27 Safar 1096/2, Feb. 1685

20 Ramazan, 32 R.Y./19, July 1688

12 Zilhaj 1100/17, Sept 1689

21 Rajab 34, R.Y./20, April 1690

21 Shaaban 35, R.Y./8, May 1692

14 Ramazan 1103/31, May 1692

11 Shawaal 1103/13, June 1692

26 Jamadi 1104/4, March 1692

25 Ramazan 1104/30, May 1693

27 Rajab 1105/24, March 1694

14 Safar 1105/15, Oct 1694

11 Shawaal 1105/5, June 1694

23 Rabi II 1105/22, Dec 1694

11 Shawaal 1106/25, May 1695

13 Zilhijja 1107/14, July 1696

17 Zialqad 1116/7, Feb 1707

20. Rajasthani

Asoj Vadi 11, 1698/20, Sept 1641

Māgh Vadi 15, 1698/22, Nov 1641

Māgh Sudi 3, 1701/20, Jan 1645

Miti Phālgun Vadi 7, 1761/7, March 1705

Miti Sāwan Vadi 5, 1762/20, Aug 1705

Māngsir Vadi 7, 1763/14, Dec 1706

Baisākh Sudi 10, 1764/12, May 1707

Phālgun Sudi 12, 1767/2, March 1710

Baisākh Vadi 13, 1768/21, April 1711

Jyestha Vadi 1, 1768/18, May 1711

Sāwan Vadi 2, 1768/5, Aug 1711

Kārtik Vadi 14, 1768/26, Oct 1711

Kārtik Sudi 1, 1768/28, Oct 1711

Kārtik Sudi 6, 1768/2, Nov 1711

Māgh Vadi 3, 1768/30, Jan 1711

Phālgun Sudi 1, 1768/23, Feb 1711

Phālgun Sudi 10,1768/7, April 1712

Chaitra Vadi 9, 1769/16, April 1712

Jyestha Vadi 1, 1769/21, June 1712

Asārh Vadi 5, 1769/12, July 1712

Asārh Sudi 11, 1769/31, July 1712

Bhādra Vadi 13, 1769/15, Sept 1712

Asoj Vadi 4, 1769/6, Oct 1712

Paush Sudi 6, 1769/24, Jan 1712

Māgh Vadi 7, 1769/7, Feb 1713

Phālgun Sudi 2, 1769/16, March 1713

Baisākh Sudi 1, 1770/12, May 1713

Asārh Vadi 12, 1770/6, July 1713

Bhādva Sudi 7, 1770/13, Sept 1713

Asōj Vadi 3, 1770/23, Sept 1713

Asōj Sudi 11, 1770/1, Oct 1713

Māgh Vadi 4, 1770/20, Jan 1714

Māgh Vadi 7, 1770/23, Jan 1714

Paush Vadi 12, 1771/21, Jan 1715

Baisākh Sudi 1, 1772/4, May 1715

Sāwan Sudi 11, 1772/10, Aug 1715

Bhādva Sudi 12, 1772/10, Sept 1715

Bhādva Sudi 10, 1774/4, Sept 1717

Asōj Sudi 1774/Oct 1717

Kārtik Vadi 9, 1774/17, Oct 1717

Phālgun Sudi 1, 1774/20, Feb 1717

Paush Sudi 1787/Dec 1730

Yaddāsht dtd 1 Rabi I 1048/13 July, 1639; 1106/7/1695-6

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